FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-035
Wednesday
22 February 1995

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-035 *22 February 1995*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Ministry Says Greek Border Guards Opened Fire *[AFP]* 1
Student Protest Meeting Held in Front of Embassy *[MIC]* 1

BULGARIA

Zhelev, Arsenis Discuss Cooperation, Security *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Videnov-Arsenis Talks Said Useful, Promising *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Pavlov, Arsenis Note Threat to Balkan Peace *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Military Official Denies Involvement in Arms Deal *[TRUD 15 Feb]* 2
Report on Military Chief Called 'Libel' *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 20 Feb]* 3
Official Explains Conflict With BBB Leader *[TRUD 15 Feb]* 3

CZECH REPUBLIC

UK's Rifkind Discusses NATO Issues, Cooperation *[LIDOVE NOVINY 16 Feb]* 5
Holan, Slovak Defense Official Agree on Ties *[Bratislava Radio]* 5
Holan on Czech Army, NATO, Russia *[PROGNOSIS WEEKLY 18 Jan]* 6
Seizure of Uranium Causes Concern Abroad *[PROGNOSIS WEEKLY 11 Jan]* 7
Second Wave of Privatization Completed *[PROGNOSIS WEEKLY 11 Jan]* 9

SLOVAKIA

Dailies Comment on Russian Prime Minister's Visit *[PRAVDA, etc.]* 10
Schenk Views Ministry's Restructuring, Tasks *[NARODNA OBRODA 13 Feb]* 10
Official Discusses Equipment for Home Guard *[Bratislava TV]* 12

HUNGARY

Defense Minister Interviewed on NATO Accession *[Budapest Radio]* 13
Defense Minister on Program for Army Reform *[Budapest Radio]* 13
Romanian, Ethnic Hungarian Atlanta Meeting Viewed *[NEPSZABADSAG 18 Feb]* 13
Ministry Looks at 1994 Economic Performance *[Budapest Radio]* 14
Problems of Privatized Department Stores Examined *[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Jan]* 14
110-Percent Retroactive Pension Increase Planned *[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Jan]* 16
Plans To Raise Retirement Age for Women Modified *[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Jan]* 16
Educational Disadvantages of Gypsies Detailed *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 16 Jan]* 16

POLAND

Balcerowicz Being Considered To Head UW *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Feb]* 18
PSL Reevaluates Its Economic Program at Congress *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 20 Feb]* 18
Poll: Poles Fear Russia but Favor Trade With It *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 17 Feb]* 19
Poll on Top Officials', Bodies' Impact on State *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Feb]* 20

ROMANIA

New Agency To Control Strategic Imports, Exports *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 16 Feb]* 22
UDMR Sets Up Council for 'Domestic Diaspora' *[ADEVARUL 17 Feb]* 22
Parliament Passes Defense, Intelligence Budgets *[COTIDIANUL 16 Feb]* 23

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

UN: Serbs, Abdic Forces Using Food as 'Weapon' *[AFP]* 24
Aid Convoy Reaches Government-Held Bihac Enclave *[AFP]* 24
UN Considering Use of Force To Aid Bihac *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
UN's Eckhard Assesses B-H Situation *[TANJUG]* 24
Abdic: Wrong Opinion About West Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 25
Serb Reconnaissance Aircraft Overfly Cazin Area *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
Serbs, Abdic Forces Renew Attacks on Bihac *[Sarajevo Radio]* 26
Blue Route Negotiation Resumes at Sarajevo Airport *[Sarajevo Radio]* 26
Official Relations With Russia To Be Established *[AFP]* 26
Serbs Hold Talks With Ukrainian Delegation *[TANJUG]* 26
Ljubijankic: Army Preparing for 'Renewed War' *[AFP]* 27
Delic Views Deterioriating Croat-Muslim Relations *[TANJUG]* 27
Muslims Again Violate Cease-Fire Accord *[TANJUG]* 27
Comment: Chances of Truce Lasting Beyond 1 May *[OSLOBODJENJE 16 Feb]* 28
Provocations Noted in Srebrenica, Gorazde Areas *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Serbs Report Muslim Operations in Sarajevo Area *[TANJUG]* 29

CROATIA

Tudjman Receives EU's Van den Broek *[Zagreb Radio]* 30
Granic, Van den Broek View UN-Croatian Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* 30
Van den Broek Warns Zagreb of Renewed Conflict *[AFP]* 30
Akashi, Martic Agree on Bihac Convoys *[AFP]* 31
Akashi: 'Readiness To Start Poltical Talks' *[Belgrade Radio]* 31
Babic Supports Unity Moves With Bosnian Serbs *[TANJUG]* 31
RSK Minister Fears War of 'Balkan Proportions' *[Belgrade Radio]* 32
Opposition Head Sympathizes With Status of Serbs *[TANJUG]* 33
Valentic Holds Talks With Iranian Delegation *[Zagreb Radio]* 33

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Political Parties Call For 'Peace, Stability' *[MIC]* 34
Leader of 'Shqiptar' Party Reportedly Arrested *[TANJUG]* 34
PDP Warns of Clashes Between Police, Albanians *[Belgrade Radio]* 34
Albanian Political Parties Hold Joint Meeting *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 20 Feb]* 35

SLOVENIA

Ambassadors Protest FRY Claim to Succession *[Ljubljana Radio]* 37
Thaler Sums Up Relations With Neighbors *[Ljubljana Radio]* 37
Thaler Assesses Talks With Italy on Border *[Rome L'UNITA 19 Feb]* 37

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Economic Issues Discussed at Meeting *[TANJUG]* 39

Serbia

B-H Army Members Held at Uzice Fire Station *[NASA BORBA 21 Feb]* 39
Metalworkers Protest Against Government's Policy *[NASA BORBA 16 Feb]* 39

Montenegro

Bulatovic Views Latest Peace Initiatives *[Belgrade Radio]* 40

Kosovo

Government: 'Full Support' for Tetovo University *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT 21 Feb]* 41

Ministry Says Greek Border Guards Opened Fire

AU2102152395 Paris AFP in English 1440 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, Feb 21 (AFP)—Albania and Greece were locked in dispute Tuesday [21 February] after Greek guards opened fire in a border incident which left an Albanian injured in hospital.

The Albanian interior ministry said Ilir Shima, 24, was shot by Greek guards who opened fire on a group 10 metres (yards) inside Albanian territory on Saturday.

Beqir Pregja, a senior official at the ministry, said Shima tried to flee but was taken back into Greece by the border guards. There had been no news about him since.

Tirana was sending a commission to the border to try to discover exactly what happened.

In Athens the Greek government, however, denied that Shima was shot on Albanian soil.

Sources close to the defence ministry cited by the official Greek news agency ANA said a border patrol had stopped a group of Albanian illegal immigrants on Greek territory and had injured one of them during an exchange of fire.

They said the immigrant was taken to hospital in Ioannina in the northwest of the country, where he was undergoing treatment, while others in the group had fled to Albania.

Police in Ioannina said 889 immigrants had been captured after crossing the border illegally last weekend.

The incident came as the two countries appeared to have improved their frosty relations following the release from prison of four ethnic Greek activists from prison in Albania at the start of February.

Student Protest Meeting Held in Front of Embassy

AU2202101895 Skopje MIC in English 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A student protest meeting was held yesterday afternoon in front of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Embassy in Tirana, as a sign of support for the so-called "Albanian University" in Tetovo. The protest meeting started at the University in Tirana. Afterwards, the students, who were carrying banners and shouting out paroles, headed toward the city center. They held a meeting in front of the building of the Macedonian embassy in Tirana, in which numerous speakers expressed support for the Tetovo University. At the end, the students left a letter of protest in front of the building of the Macedonian Embassy.

Radio Tirana, which broadcast the news about the protest in the afternoon, did not specify the number of students that took part.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Zhelev, Arsenis Discuss Cooperation, Security

AU2102175195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 21 February President Zhelyu Zhelev received Yerasimos Arsenis, Greek minister of national defense, who is paying Bulgaria an official visit.

I came here in order to cooperate in giving an impetus to military cooperation with Bulgaria, Minister Arsenis said after his meeting with the president.

The situation in the Balkans and issues related to security in the region were discussed at the meeting. Minister Arsenis promised President Zhelev that Greece would cooperate in more rapidly facilitating Bulgaria's integration into the EU and NATO. It was pointed out that lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims would cause an expansion of the conflict in the Balkans, which must not be allowed.

Videnov-Arsenis Talks Said Useful, Promising

AU2102164995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 21 February Prime Minister Zhan Videnov received Greek National Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis, who is visiting Bulgaria.

After the meeting Mr. Videnov described the talks he had with the Greek minister as exceptionally useful and promising.

The problems in our bilateral relations and in the sphere of military-political cooperation are very few, significant work has been done, and good prospects predominate, the Bulgarian prime minister said.

For his part, Mr. Arsenis said that during the talks it had been established that Bulgaria and Greece have identical views on security problems. Cooperation between the two countries, aimed at preserving peace and eliminating the threats in the region, figure in the two countries' defense plans. Our cooperation is not aimed against any third state, Mr. Arsenis said.

The Greek defense minister was also received by President Zhelev.

Pavlov, Arsenis Note Threat to Balkan Peace

AU2102191095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 21 February Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov received Yerasimos Arsenis, Greek minister of national defense, who is visiting Bulgaria. After the meeting Dimitur Pavlov said that issues of mutual interest, as well as the development of the Yugoslav conflict, had been discussed.

The two ministers stressed that the war that continues in Yugoslavia threatens the peace in the Balkans and expressed hope that the conflict would be settled soon through peaceful means.

The Bulgarian Defense Ministry has invited Greek units to take part in the Breeze-95 naval maneuvers, which will take place at the end of the summer in Bulgaria as a part of the Partnership for Peace initiative. The invitation has been received by the Greek defense minister, who for his part has also invited Bulgarian units to take part in Greek military maneuvers.

Military Official Denies Involvement in Arms Deal

AU2102172195 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Feb 95 p 5

[Article by Vasil Lyutskanov: "Tirana Had Nothing To Do With Our $670,000 'Deal'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The Albanian Defense Ministry has nothing to do with the 'Albanian' arms deal concluded by the Bulgarian Ministry of Defense," declared Major General Agim Baruti, deputy chief of the Albanian Army General Staff. In Sofia yesterday, Baruti signed an agreement on military cooperation in 1995 between the defense ministries of the two countries.

Gen. Baruti is the first top military officer from Tirana to issue an official denial regarding the deal that resulted in Bulgaria's losing $670,000. The deal was concluded between the Bulgarian Defense Ministry and Sali Kucha, a representative of the "Meiko" special company controlled by the Albanian Defense Ministry. "We did not authorize this person to sign such a contract. Sali Kucha was dismissed for his involvement in another irregular deal with our company relating to trucks, and is now in prison," Gen. Baruti announced. In 1992, following former Defense Minister Aleksandur Staliyski's visit to Albania, Kucha signed on behalf of "Meiko" a deal to supply 200 IFA trucks from the former GDR [German Democratic Republic] through the Varna Bulit-90 Company. Some $300,000 was paid in advance, but Tirana received nothing.

At the end of October 1993, the defense ministry sent six international road trucks with 100 mortars to Albania via Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. The trucks returned empty two months later, but the weapons disappeared after being unloaded at Petrovac Airport near Skopje. The blunder led to the dismissal of Colonel Valentin Popinski and Col. Stoyan Tsakov, respectively chief and deputy chief of the defense ministry's Trade and Supply Directorate. Tsakov left for the CIS and disappeared. Mario Stoichkov, chief of the Sofia trucking firm Videomax, vanished in Macedonia with the $670,000. Interpol is now looking for both Tsakov and Stoichkov.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Report on Military Chief Called 'Libel'

AU2202110795 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the report published in the daily ANTI on 14 February, the Supreme Military Council categorically declares that the report is a gross lie and libel directed against the Bulgarian Army, chief guarantor of our national security, and its General Staff, and is aimed at discrediting Colonel General Tsvetan Totomirov, as the most senior officer in the Bulgarian Army. Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov made this statement on Bulgarian National Television on the evening of 18 February. He said the newspaper report (alleging that the present chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff shot a soldier in Prague in 1968) is a vicious political insinuation and an insult to the honor of a Bulgarian officer.

The facts are these: In 1968, Officer Totomirov was a lieutenant, not a senior lieutenant as stated in the newspaper. The unit in which he was serving was deployed in Banska Bistrica, not in Prague. No soldier was killed or died either in the unit that he commanded or in the entire regiment in which he was serving. The Bulgarian Army is commanded according to laws and statutes, not through force and fear.

During the last five years, our army has demonstrated that it is a guarantor of the democratic changes, civic peace, and national consensus, and for this reason this attack against it is not merely a political provocation but borders on national betrayal. This libel injures the authority and dignity of President Zhelev, the head of state and supreme commander in chief, who personally appointed Col. Gen. Tsvetan Totomirov chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff.

The Defense Ministry leadership will not let such a provocation, taken from the arsenal of Goebbels propaganda, pass unnoticed. We will immediately ask the district prosecutor's office to start penal proceedings against the author of the report and the newspaper's editor in chief for libel and for causing moral injury, the defense minister stated.

Official Explains Conflict With BBB Leader

AU2102203295 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Feb 95 p 9

[Interview with Kristiyan Krustev, National Assembly deputy chairman, by Valeriya Krusteva; place and date not given; "George Ganchev Is Burdened by Mania, His Behavior Is Dangerous for Parliament"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Krusteva] Mr. Krustev, how long have you known George Ganchev?

[Krustev] Three months.

[Krusteva] Did you enter parliament thanks to his "carrier rocket," as he claims?

[Krustev] One could not say at all that he is a "carrier rocket." Had George Ganchev not had my financial help and the financial help of three or four other persons he simply would not have entered parliament. We provided the rocket's fuel.

[Krusteva] What is Mr. Ganchev's business? How does he make his living? How did he construct the villa in Vladaya?

[Krustev] He has no business. He relies on the sponsorship of individual businessmen in the party. As far as I know, the villa in Vladaya has been constructed to serve as the Bulgarian Business Bloc [BBB] residence. It is not George Ganchev's personal villa. This is what I heard from BBB members and supporters, and from the support letters I receive.

[Krusteva] When was your first conflict with George Ganchev?

[Krusteva] He knew that I represent certain financial circles that are interested in my personality and my personal acquaintances, and which have the intention if investing in Bulgaria. I do not know how exactly he heard about me and decided to approach me, but he came to my office four or five times before the elections in order to convince me to head the BBB's Burgas list. We did not have any misunderstandings during the election campaign except a financial one—he wanted me to pay for some posters, which I did.

[Krusteva] Why did he nominate you National Assembly deputy chairman?

[Krustev] Because he did not have anyone else to rely on in anything related to professional participation in parliamentary work and legislative initiative. [passage omitted]

[Krusteva] Do you think that there is a paranoid streak in George Ganchev?

[Krustev] George Ganchev is burdened by a mania and his actions are related to this.

[Krusteva] Could his behavior be dangerous in this context?

[Krustev] His behavior is dangerous for the parliament. He has not stopped attacking this institution for one month already. His behavior is dangerous for parliamentarism as a whole.

[Krusteva] Then why is the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] using him?

[Krustev] The secret vote on my election demonstrated that there are different opinions about George Ganchev within the BSP. A part of the BSP members strive to achieve by all means the broadest support for their policy. This prompts them to seek support in other parliamentary factions. Since the very beginning there have been very serious contradictions within the BBB parliamentary faction as to whether to support the BSP

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

or not. The predominating opinion is not to support the BSP as a whole, despite what has been said on behalf of the BBB.

[Krusteva] How could George Ganchev be controlled?

[Krustev] By assessing what to give him and what not to give him.

[Krusteva] In other words, he is like an unruly child, to whom candies must be given all the time?

[Krustev] Precisely. I think that at present there are many people in the BSP who are asking why candies should be given to George Ganchev. The basic reason: this way they can utilize the BBB votes for organizing a quorum at the National Assembly or for the adoption of bills. [passage omitted]

[Krusteva] I have heard from certain BBB members that they have seen Ganchev's U.S. passport in his office desk drawer.

[Krustev] It would have been known if an official procedure on relinquishing his U.S. citizenship has been initiated, as was the case of former Foreign Minister John Stanchev, whom I respect very much.

[Krusteva] Then why has George Ganchev been allowed to participate in the elections?

[Krustev] Simply, no one checked. Apparently, they relied only on his declaration on this matter.

[Krusteva] Should the Constitutional Court not intervene?

[Krustev] Yes, the Constitutional Court could establish his incompatibility in anything related to participating in the elections. The issue could even be expanded to encompass the presidential elections, in which he participated. The chief prosecutor must interfere if it is established that a crime has been committed in the past, namely, signing a false declaration. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

UK's Rifkind Discusses NATO Issues, Cooperation

AU2102205595 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 16 Feb 95 p 6

[Interview with Malcolm Rifkind, UK secretary of state for defense, by Michal Mocek in Prague on 14 February: "The Aim Is a Secure Europe as a Whole"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mocek] What is your assessment of the prospects for Czech membership in NATO?

[Rifkind] NATO would like to increase the number of its members. We know that there are countries that want to join NATO, and I believe these countries will be welcome in the North Atlantic Alliance. At the moment, we are discussing the basic principles for the Alliance's enlargement. The next step will be to consider the individual applications.

[Mocek] What do you think of the plan put forward by the U.S. Republicans, who are demanding that three Central European countries be admitted to NATO by 10 January 1999?

[Rifkind] So far, NATO has not dealt with the issue of setting a date. I think the first step will be to select the countries whose membership in NATO can be considered. Then we will discuss with them how they should best find their place in NATO, their contribution, and what they will gain from the Alliance. Then we will be better able to set a precise timetable for the Alliance's enlargement. I am certain, however, that this enlargement will take place.

[Mocek] Do you think the Partnership for Peace program is the best instrument for preparing its participants for admission to NATO?

[Rifkind] It is not probable that all of the countries taking part in the Partnership for Peace program would join the North Atlantic Alliance. However, a certain number of them will become members. The Partnership for Peace is a very good means of preparing a program of cooperation and integration, especially for those countries of the former Eastern bloc that are considering entry into NATO.

[Mocek] Is it possible to set an approximate limit for NATO's enlargement?

[Rifkind] I think it is pointless to speculate on what this limit would be. Who knows? If five years ago someone had given consideration to the Czech Republic's admission to NATO, it would certainly have seemed very strange. Who can say what will be possible in another five years? I think the important aim should be to develop Europe's security as a whole. This could mean membership in the North Atlantic Alliance for some countries. Others will not want to join the Alliance or it will be impossible. So, this is something that has to remain flexible.

[Mocek] Britain is also part of the European Union. How should the EU shape its security? At the same time, how do you assess the roles of NATO and the Western European Union?

[Rifkind] We strongly support the idea of incorporating the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary into the European Union in as short a time as possible. We think that is desirable. The EU deals mainly with issues such as trade, the economy, and civil affairs. NATO, obviously, concentrates on security issues. It is necessary to consider each of these spheres quite separately. I think, however, that the Czech Republic will incorporate itself more and more into all of the European institutions in which it is interested.

[Mocek] What are Great Britain's future plans for cooperation with the Czech Republic?

[Rifkind] Today we watched joint exercises involving the Royal Marines and Czech soldiers. We are also discussing bilateral cooperation—inviting Czech professors to British colleges and teaching English in the Czech Armed Forces to assist them when they want to team up with other Western countries. That is, there is a whole spectrum of possibilities for cooperation.

Holan, Slovak Defense Official Agree on Ties

LD2102210095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The major issues discussed during a working visit of Jozef Gajdos, state secretary in the Slovak Defnse Ministry, to Prague today concerned the division of the property of the former federal army and further cooperation between the Czech and Slovak Armies.

Aside from the talks with Czech Army officials and representatives of the joint working commissions, Jozef Gajdos met Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan. Daniela Galikova reports from Prague.

[Galikova] This meeting confirmed the efforts of both countries and both Armies' officials to develop further cooperation. We agreed that we will resolve the problematic issues so that our cooperation will have a fresh start in our efforts to join the developed transatlantic security structures, Jozef Gajdos, state secretary in the Slovak Defense Ministry, told journalists and Slovak radio reporters after the meeting.

Czech Defnse Minister Vilem Holan also emphasized the need to develop mutual relations. Both officials also discussed preparations of the joint exercises, a future meeting of the two defense ministers, which should take place during the first half of 1995, and the situation of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] troops in former Yugoslavia.

The journalists were naturally most interested in the division of the archives and funds of the former federal army. Vilem Holan rejected the view that this is a

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

political issue. According to Holan, this is a technically complicated procedure rather than anything else. Together with Jozef Gajdos, Holan rejected the opinion sometimes voiced by the media, according to which the Czech side refuses to hand over these archives because it would mean losing some of its sovereignty.

Jozef Gajdos, state secretary in the Slovak Defense Ministry, commented on the issue:

[Begin Gajdos recording] We only want what essentially affects us, what would make our job easier. We do not want anything that belongs to the Czech Republic. In no case are we after its sovereignty. [end recording]

Holan on Czech Army, NATO, Russia

95CH0114A Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 18 Jan 95 p 5

[Interview with Vilem Holan, Czech defense minister, by Richard Byrne Reilly: "'We Don't Want To Isolate Russia'"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Six years after the fall of communism and four defense ministers later, it appears the Czech Army has finally found a politician capable of both transforming the beleaguered armed forces and steering it down the often rocky path to membership in the NATO alliance.

The man is 47-year-old Vilem Holan, a former mathematician who rose from the number three position at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to succeed the embattled and accident-prone Antonin Baudys as defense minister when Baudys was axed last September for incompetence. Holan, who is from the North Moravian city of Ostrava, was tapped for the job by Premier Vaclav Klaus.

Holan's job will not be easy. He has inherited an organization whose mission has changed radically from the days of its membership in the defunct Warsaw Pact. It is still struggling to define itself in a post-Cold War era where former enemies are now allies, and continues to show outward signs of severe internal disarray.

During the 1960s, Holan did a brief stint in the Czech military as a construction engineer before being dishonorably discharged for religious activism. When he was appointed defense minister last September, some officers complained that bringing an outsider into the fold, rather than a career soldier, would again prove a bad move for the military and plunge the Army into a morass of controversy like it saw under Baudys. Holan has dismissed their grumblings as absurd.

The issue of successfully transforming the armed forces and making reality the Czech Republic's ardent desire to be granted membership in NATO loom perhaps largest on Holan's horizon. Implementing techniques and tactics favored by armies in the West, and also procuring Western-manufactured military equipment, figure prominently into the equation. Meanwhile, Russia's adamant insistence that NATO not expand eastward is a thorn in his side.

The bespectacled Holan, who during the late 1960s was branded as "politically unreliable" by Communist authorities and subsequently banished to work as a technician in Moravian coal mines, comes across as a highly educated, no-nonsense hawk determined to lead the Czech Army into the 21st century. Importantly, he seems focused on not making the same mistakes his predecessor was renowned for.

During a recent interview in his plushly appointed office at the Ministry of Defense headquarters in Prague 6, Holan spoke at length about the considerable challenges facing him and about the future of the Czech armed forces as it enters what promises to be perhaps the key year of its new existence.

[Question] How would you describe your first five months as the new Defense Minister of the Czech Republic?

[Answer] In my first five months I've taken a look at the situation and surveyed the various issues and problems. I would say that the general public opinion of the army is not the best but it isn't the worst. Currently, we are in the middle (of the transformation process).

[Question] In the middle?

[Answer] Conditions in the military need to improve. The army needs to be better equipped and should have better leadership.

[Question] You had problems with the Communists during the 1960s. They considered you to be "politically unreliable." What happened?

[Answer] Yes, I was expelled from my university studies for my Christian underground activities. I was eventually allowed to finish my studies in 1965 and then (a higher degree) in 1968.

[Question] Some criticism has been launched at you from officers who complain that you're not a career military man. Therefore, you don't understand and possess what it takes to lead the military. Is this criticism justified?

[Answer] No. This type of criticism is mostly coming from left-wing groups. Many of these critics are the same people who feel that the defense minister should be a professional, that is, specifically educated in matters of war. But in many Western states, the minister of the armed forces is somebody from the civil sphere, like in the United States. And now (civilian defense ministers) have become more acceptable.

[Question] What did you discuss with your American counterpart William Perry on your recent visit to the United States?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Answer] We concentrated on some very concrete issues. For one thing, the Czech Republic joining NATO, and how we would like to continue using the same (military) equipment we're using now but would like to improve on certain aspects of the technology. Also, the possibility of the United States defending the Czech Republic (in the event of a crisis). And the United States' willingness or nonwillingness to help in our defense. We discussed the possibility of a U.S. military presence in Europe, not only a mere presence, but also a strategic one.

[Question] What do you perceive as the biggest threat to the security of the Czech Republic?

[Answer] Right now, there's no immediate threat to the country, but of course there's a very serious situation going on in Yugoslavia. What is also starting to be a cause of concern is the possibility of Russia increasing (its) nationalistic tendencies.

[Question] In your opinion, why does Russia continue to adamantly oppose the eastward expansion of the NATO alliance?

[Answer] The possible reasons for this are several. Central Europe is a very strategic area and both Russia and the Western countries are aware of this. Central Europe has always been controlled by somebody else, it has always existed as a field between Russia and Western Europe. We don't want to isolate Russia, because once that country begins to feel isolated, the mood becomes confrontational. But on the other hand, the Czech people have had very unpleasant experiences from the Russian side. There was 25 years of (Russian) occupation here. People tend to get very concerned whenever there's political instability in the former Soviet Union, such as what's happening now in Chechnia.

[Question] Do you think Chechnia is an example of Russia again attempting to recover lost territory after the collapse of the Soviet Empire?

[Answer] Chechnia has always been a part of Russia. It's a cause for concern because such a situation should be resolved by long-term negotiation and debate. If it carries on this way, it's going to make any type of peaceful resolution impossible. The real key to solving a conflict like that is negotiation, rather than resorting to wild violence.

[Question] Why does the Czech Republic desire to join the NATO alliance? Are the concerns primarily strategic?

[Answer] The Czech Republic has always felt more a part of Western Europe than a part of Eastern Europe. We were forced to be a part of Eastern Europe. We feel we should be defended by Western Europe, but also help to defend Western Europe. We're not vociferously clamoring to necessarily be the first (new) country to be accepted (into NATO). We're looking at the situation from a realistic point of view.

[Question] Do you think NATO will extend membership to the Czech Republic?

[Answer] Oh yes, of course.

[Question] Why such optimism? The Czech Republic has received nothing but assurances from the West and no definitive time frame for acceptance.

[Answer] Because (the location of this country) is an extremely strategic one.

Seizure of Uranium Causes Concern Abroad

95CH0108A Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 11 Jan 95 p 3

[Article by Hana Lesenarova and Robert McLean: "Seizure of Illicit Uranium 235 Cache Illuminates Old Czech-Russian Links"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The December 14 seizure by Czech police of three kilograms of weapons-grade Uranium 235 failed to cause much of a stir in the Czech media, which seems to have all but forgotten about the bust since the day it happened. But the incident continues to send shivers up the spines of intelligence agencies around the globe, many of whom are involved in their own uranium-tracking operations.

"The whole world was horrified. The phone calls to (Czech) counter-intelligence from agencies all over the world did not stop ringing day or night," said Interior Ministry spokesman Jan Subrt, who stood squarely in the spotlight after the bust made international news. "Even the Japanese (intelligence) agency called...and they all wanted to know what was going on, what actually happened. The whole world was upside down."

Following a six-month investigation, 20 Czech police officers arrested a Czech nuclear scientist and two citizens of the former Soviet Union as they sat in a car on a Prague 7 street the night of December 14. The specially designed briefcase the trio carried contained two cylindrical containers holding a grey powder—the Uranium 235. A certificate written in Russian was seized along with the containers.

The Interior Ministry confirmed that the uranium was 87.5 percent enriched and called the find the largest since security agencies worldwide began warning of a growing boom in the illegal trade of nuclear materials from the Soviet Union three years ago.

Before the Prague arrests, the most notorious recent bust had been the Bavarian police's seizure of nearly a kilogram of Lithium-6 and a third of a kilo of highly enriched Plutonium 239 in the Munich international airport. Four Czechs and one Slovak were arrested then.

While authorities have so far been unable to determine with certainty where the uranium came from, Subrt said

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Russia is the likely country of origin. "With the highest probability the material comes from the former Soviet Union," he said.

The director of Prague's Bureau of Investigation, Richard Malecek, confirmed that one of the three arrested was Czech and another Russian, but refused to give the nationality of the third. Press reports have identified this suspect also as a Russian. All three are currently in custody.

Malecek said that as recently as a few years ago the Czech scientist had worked in the Czech Republic's foremost nuclear science institute in the town of Rez—the same institute that analyzed the seized material.

Czech nuclear scientists were often trained in the former Soviet Union, and many have kept in touch with the people they met there.

"Obviously they have always had contacts," said Subrt. "There were so many nuclear physicists who were educated in the former Soviet Union, particularly in Dubna (a Russian nuclear science institute). They have been in contact since kindergarten."

However, Subrt said smuggling of radioactive materials usually requires more than knowledge of nuclear physics. "You can't conclude that Russian scientists are behind these transports. There is somebody else behind it, somebody who has a certain influence, who is capable of organizing a gang."

It is widely believed that highly organized trade gangs are developing routes from poorly protected civil and military nuclear institutions in the former Soviet Union through Eastern Europe to countries in Western Europe, where security officials believe the material is sold.

"All the channels through which the strategic materials are transported have to be cleared...and so these gangs send drugs, or diamonds, or whatever else through to see if it gets stuck anywhere, if there are any problems there, and when they see the route is safe they send (radioactive material)," said Subrt.

He said that police and the Intelligence Agency (BIS) had independently collected information on the latest shipment for about six months. Though he admitted that police are unable to detect all the illicit material crossing through the Czech Republic, Subrt refused to speculate on what percentage of the total is completing passage to the West.

"This is evidence that strategic material is really being smuggled in the world and none of us knows how much of it is already in places where they might be secretly producing a bomb," said Subrt.

Despite growing evidence that the trade in potentially destructive materials is growing at an alarming rate, it has not been established who is funding it. Besides terrorist organizations, the most likely buyers seem to be countries with suspected nuclear ambitions, such as Iraq or North Korea.

Twenty-five kilograms of Uranium 235 is needed to produce a thermonuclear device, although American bomb makers are believed to be able to produce one with less. But making a bomb is a hugely expensive endeavor requiring high levels of expertise.

When mined, uranium contains about 99.3 percent Uranium 238, which is useless for producing a nuclear reaction, and 0.7 percent of the needed Uranium 235. Massive complexes consuming vast amounts of energy use centrifuges or lasers to strip away the Uranium 238, "enriching" or increasing the percentage of Uranium 235 in the material.

"In combination with water or paraffin this material can form a critical configuration for a nuclear weapon," said Karel Matejka, a nuclear scientist and the head of the department of nuclear reactors at the Czech Technical University in Prague.

"That means that this amount is not sufficient itself, but in combination with a moderator and in homogenous configuration it would be plenty to create a system where a fission reaction can go on spontaneously," he said. "You can imagine there is a customer somewhere who is buying in portions. And it is possible to put it together until you have the needed amount of about 25 kilos."

And although Matejka stressed that the production is a very complicated technological process which requires very high-tech equipment, he admitted it is possible.

The Czech Press Agency (CTA) reported that the seized material was worth tens of millions of dollars. But David Kyd, spokesman for the International Atomic Energy Association in Vienna, said there was no way to determine the street value for three kilograms of highly enriched Uranium 235. "You never know until you have a buyer, it's a little bit like putting your house on the market," said Kyd. "Until you've got someone on the other side of the table with serious money you could (only) compute a hypothetical value."

Kyd said that a seller could demand a higher price if he could promise to deliver the remaining 22 kilos at a later date, but that without such assurances the value might be significantly lower.

Unlike the Czech Interior Ministry, Kyd did not believe that 87.5 percent enriched uranium was sufficient for weapons use. "The degree of enrichment for bomb purposes that bomb makers like is well in excess of 90 percent enrichment, so this is not top of the line product ready to go," said Kyd. But he added that for anyone with enrichment capabilities, "It would be quick and easy task to enrich it right the way up to approaching 100 percent."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Greenpeace activist Petr Hlobil said the latest police success merely showed the dangers inherent in using nuclear power, even for "peaceful" purposes, and demonstrated that the international treaty on nuclear proliferation was ineffective. "It just proves that there is no such thing as a 'civil' nuclear industry," said Hlobil.

Kyd sees the problem as one of security and not civility. "The fact that it was being smuggled is very significant and of concern because it would indicate that somebody somewhere has access to such material," he admitted, recommending that tighter security regimes at nuclear installations were the best way to decrease the risk of radioactive materials getting into the hands of the wrong people.

"We believe the problem needs to be attacked at source, because once the horse is out of the stable the problem becomes much more difficult," Kyd said. "We have to maintain a high level of vigilance both in Western Europe and in Eastern and Central Europe because this problem is going to be with us for as far into the future as we can see."

Second Wave of Privatization Completed

95CH0108B Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 11 Jan 95 p 9

[Article by Vladan Sir: "Coupon Privatization Over, But Much Remains To Be Sold"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] One month before 1994 drew to a close and exactly five years after the fall of a regime based on absolute state ownership, the Czech Republic completed its world debut of mass coupon privatization.

But even though the number of private companies increased radically since the beginning of privatization in 1990, with government estimates that 80 percent of Czech GDP is now generated in private companies, some say the state still holds too much control over the economy.

The just-completed second wave of coupon privatization is only part of the second phase of overall privatization, and billions of crowns worth of property remain in state ownership, despite Economy Minister Karel Dyba's November 14 proclamation that, "As of now, there is nothing left to privatize in the Czech Republic."

The reason there are such huge leftovers is that state officials have an interest in keeping some companies on their agendas, investment experts told PROGNOSIS WEEKLY. Investment funds say that the Ministry of Finance set stock prices high in order to make sure that some companies wouldn't be bought out during privatization.

Fund managers harshly criticized the way prices were set and accused the ministry's Price Committee of manipulating them, especially during the coupon privatization's second wave.

"They are undoubtedly high," said Igor Kocmanek, director of Raifeisen Alfa, an investment fund. "The price policy was created so that some property would remain (unsold)."

"The prices of most of those were overpriced and they did not reflect the companies' performance," said Vladislav Vesely, director of Expandia, another fund.

"The prices were absurd," said Jiri Hromas, manager at Max Merlin In West investment company. He said the aim of the government's Price Committee was to set stock prices so that as much property as possible was left over. "As long as (the state officials) have some property to take care of, then they don't have to look for a job."

The head of the Price Committee, Vladimir Rudlovcak, defended his strategy in the government's informational magazine KUPONOVA PRIVATIZACE (COUPON PRIVATIZATION). "The Price Committee is here to manipulate the rates, and does it intentionally," he said. "The intention is to distribute a huge property among millions of citizens in the shortest time possible with relatively low expenses."

In its two waves since 1992, nearly 370 billion crowns worth of property have been distributed among 6 million shareholders. The amount represents property stakes in over 1,800 newly-created joint stock companies.

Tomas Marek of MLADA FRONTA DNES argued in November that a large number of those companies are only partially privately owned. Such firms include the largest industrial monopolies like Czechoslovak Airlines, Czech Energy Works, the largest Czech banks, petrochemical companies, iron works, mines and the state telecommunications monopoly SPT Telecom.

"If the government were to decide now that it wants to exercise its ownership rights, nobody could stop it from doing whatever it wants with the economy," he wrote.

During the initial round of the second wave, investors made a run on the most popular companies such as SPT Telecom and Ceske radiokomunikace. As a result, those firms found themselves heavily oversubscribed, so that not a single share was sold and their prices skyrocketed for the next round. More than half of the 851 companies offered remained unnoticed and, logically, their prices went down.

When the investors saw the new cheap stock prices, they went after these in the second round. Therefore they too were oversubscribed and their prices went up for the next round. It wasn't till the third round of the second wave that demand and prices started to match.

Shares will be transferred to security accounts of individual investors and investment funds at the beginning of next year, when they can begin to be freely traded at the two securities markets, the Prague Stock Exchange and the RM-System.

The Ministry of Privatization was not able to provide an estimate of how many companies are left to be privatized in the upcoming months, or of how much they are worth.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Dailies Comment on Russian Prime Minister's Visit

AU2102210595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 15 February on page 3, under the headline "A Russian Why Without a Slovak Because," carries a 700-word commentary by Ivan Drabek on Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to the Republic. The commentary focuses on Chernomyrdin's comment that he does not understand "why Slovakia is rushing to get into NATO" and on the Slovak side's failure to provide a satisfactory answer. Drabek writes: "This Russian 'why,' although it was uttered without claiming the right of veto, was accompanied by a series of bitter reproaches against those 'forcing these processes' and thus 'provoking confrontation.' In such an atmosphere, it takes courage to uphold the view that we consider the North Atlantic Alliance, membership in which, according to the government's policy statement, we are striving for, to be the most effective extant security organization. In this context, to mention Russia's domestic political instability—and, God forbid, Chechnya—would even be tactless. All the more so as it would be made in the same breath as an enumeration of the new agreements opening up new prospects for Slovak-Russian economic cooperation."

He continues: "It is quite in order if, in Slovakia, as opposed to some of our neighbors whose relations with Moscow are burdened by historical prejudices, we understand Russia's anxiety about its possible isolation as a consequence of NATO's enlargement right up to the borders of the Commonwealth of Independent States." Drabek points out, however, that this "problem" is really a problem for Russia and NATO and that it could be "fateful for us if Russia, following Chernomyrdin's successful visit, were to get the impression that Slovakia is ready for absolute solidarity with it in the issue of membership in NATO."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 16 February on page 4, under the headline "Have Two Years of Sovereignty Ended in a Russian Embrace?," carries a 1,000-word commentary by Ivan Stulajter and Robert Kotian on the same subject. They argue that the "expansive Russian soul suits the mentality of the current governing team more than Western individualism based on the values of liberal democracy." They refer to the agreements signed between the Slovak and Russian Governments and ask "to whose benefit were they signed?" In particular, they mention the "agreement on the visa-free movement of citizens" and wonder if it is not "a step oriented toward endangering the security of the citizens of this state." After all, Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek has confirmed that the agreement contains a "security clause," whereby it can be rescinded "immediately" if the number of crimes committed by Russian citizens goes up. The authors also point out that the "agreement on mutual employment" will hardly help the unemployment situation in Slovakia, but, on the contrary, will increase citizens' anxiety about a "cheap labor force from Russia."

Stulajter and Kotian move on to issues surrounding "Slovakia's orientation toward NATO and Russia's reactions to these endeavors." According to them, neither Chernomyrdin nor journalists received an answer from Vladimir Meciar to the Russian prime minister's question on "why Slovakia is rushing into NATO." The only thing journalists got was an "assurance" from Chernomyrdin that Russia and Slovakia "have no problems." According to the authors, journalists were "astounded" by Meciar's statement that "Russia and Slovakia are beginning a new model of cooperation that will set a precedent for the other Central European countries." They continue: "Following such statements and clarification of the fact that 55 intergovernmental agreements have already been signed between the Slovak Republic and the Russian Federation, our road toward the EU and NATO is becoming extraordinarily uncertain, if not lost from sight. From this point of view, Meciar's recent visit to Brussels and his talks with EU and NATO officials appear, to say the least, to be contradictory, and a huge question mark hangs over Slovakia's real foreign political orientation."

Schenk Views Ministry's Restructuring, Tasks

AU2102170895 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Feb 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk, "prepared by" Ivan Horsky in Bratislava; date not given: "We Are Improving the Economic Dimension and the Integrative Nature of Our Diplomacy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. Minister, you have vaulted, so to speak, into the second half of the 100-day period since you entered office. You have exchanged your academic chair for diplomacy—that is, for the sphere of real politics. How do you feel, apart from the fact that you are literally exhausted and worn out?

[Schenk] I consider the period since I entered office to be an adaptation stage that even has two phases. The first one was very demanding because I entered into a completely new situation. I had some idea of what goes on in this sector, but I had to get to know the people and how the department works and to go into a lot of technical details. I have the impression that this phase is behind me, figuratively speaking; I already know most of the people I meet in the corridors. At the moment, I am in the other phase. I am dealing with specific tasks in which it is necessary to make decisions. The biggest issue here is the high level of personal responsibility. For example, I have taken part in formulating the ministry's new organizational structure, I have familiarized myself with the domestic and foreign structures of our diplomatic service, and, at the moment, I am workin, among other things, on

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

an assessment of the Slovak Republic's foreign policy activities in 1994 and on preparing the concept for 1995.

[NARODNA OBRODA] You said that the ministry's new structure has been approved. At the moment, more is being said about it than is known about it. Could you concretize it somehow?

[Schenk] I think that, as elsewhere in the world, there is no reason to discuss this issue generally. It is the Foreign Ministry's internal affair. Moreover, the changes were not so far-reaching and problematic. It involved, more or less, an internal regrouping of forces, and this is how it should be understood. The regrouping is associated, first and foremost, with making the functioning of this institution more effective and with the tasks whose fulfillment is expected of us, especially in connection with our admission into the European Union. It has simply become apparent that the hitherto division of jurisdiction between the multilateral and bilateral sections no longer caters to the structure. It is necessary to join forces for these tasks. The issue involves a higher level of integration and cooperation within the department. That was the first objective. The second was also not very dramatic; it did not even manifest itself in major personnel changes. Our endeavor is to strengthen the significant part of the ministry and, apart from this, to separate it from the administrative-economic service. Admittedly, it is important for our activity, but the core of our work lies elsewhere. I am aware that this system is not perfect, so, in the next step, it is necessary to take into consideration the internal harmonization of the individual subsystems.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Will this restructuring also concern the number of our representative offices abroad? That is, there are reports that something like this is being prepared or, rather, that it will involve other forms of representation, with the proviso that crucial areas will be strengthened.

[Schenk] So far, no decision has been made in this sphere. First, we needed to "instill order" at home. We will deal with this issue in the next stage. Whether things will unfold in such a way that the number of embassies is reduced or whether forces will be regrouped is an open issue. First of all, we have to conduct an elementary analysis; the conclusions that emerge from the prepared meeting of all of the ambassadors in Bratislava will be part of this. An important factor that influences things is the budget. If we accede to certain changes, this will probably not involve an absolute reduction in the number of offices but, rather, in relocating them from regions that appear to have fewer prospects to regions with greater prospects, especially economically.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Will you, as is common throughout the world, place greater emphasis on economic diplomacy, on balancing it with traditional diplomacy?

[Schenk] We have to do this; otherwise we would not get by. I have spoken about this several times. It is also in the policy statement. The idea of establishing economic representative offices not only on the state level but also with the participation of the economic entities involved in foreign trade is also well known.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Let us return, however, to the world of politics. Last week, you and the prime minister met with members of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee. Almost no reports have reached the public about this. Could you give us some details about this meeting?

[Schenk] In my opinion, there was no reason for anything from this working meeting to reach the public. The same applied with regard to our meeting with the president. These are meetings that have two tasks in common: first, to coordinate the activities of the individual institutions that operate in this sphere and, second, to concretize the tasks that are already in the policy statement and the plans for the main tasks of the government and the department.

This involves nothing other than proceeding in parallel everywhere it is necessary and possible so that, within the framework of our resources, we cover all of our tasks in the given sphere by means of our foreign political activities. I assume that such meetings will be repeated because it is impossible to guarantee all of the tasks at once. The issue involves constructing a working mechanism from them. The most important strategic issues of foreign policy were also discussed at these meetings.

[NARODNA OBRODA] One of the most important tasks of Slovak diplomacy at the moment is to bring to a successful conclusion the agreement between Prime Ministers Horn and Meciar on drafting an interstate treaty by 21 March. Last week, the Hungarian side submitted its proposals....

[Schenk] The documents are being analyzed. An agreement that the outcome of the interim consultations will not be publicized is in force. Our experts are negotiating in Budapest today on the text of the agreement. I emphasize that our side has a considerable interest in resolving this issue. The solutions put forward by the two sides are, however, somewhat different, so the experts have their work cut out for them.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Prime Minister Horn left the back door open, so to speak, last week when he said that the treaty does not have to be concluded by the date agreed upon. What is your view?

[Schenk] Understandably, it is impossible ever to rule this out. However, it is our task to do everything to make sure that we implement the prime ministers' agreement within the date set. Of course, the willingness of the partners to reach an agreement is a prerequisite for every treaty.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Official Discusses Equipment for Home Guard

LD2102215795 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An approved policy statement by the Slovak Government says that the current transformation of the Slovak Army will involve the formation of the Home Guard within the overall system of the country's strategic defense.

At a press conference of the Slovak Ministry of Defense held in Bratislava today, at which the Home Guard was the crucial issue discussed, Jan Repasky, head of the Office of the Slovak Ministry of Defense, said that the equipment of the Home Guard will include predominantly handguns of all types. In the next stage, antitank, antiaircraft, mine-throwing, and engineering technology will be implemented. Other arms systems, which are not limited by the CFE Treaty, may also be implemented.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Defense Minister Interviewed on NATO Accession

LD2202124295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0545 GMT 22 Feb 95

[Studio interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by unidentified announcer—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] The timing and way of Hungary's accession to NATO will be determined by U.S.-Russian relations. What our country can do is to bring its Army closer to a West European level. This was said by President Arpad Goncz yesterday at the Hungarian Army commanders' meeting in Budapest. Goncz also said that a possible accession would demand financial sacrifices, which society would have to make. This sentence prompted me to ask Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti to come into the studio. Are there any preliminary calculations on how much this preparation for NATO membership will cost Hungary?

[Keleti] There are no precise calculations, of course, since NATO itself has not set requirements that the Hungarian Army or any other country wishing to join has to fulfill. There are, however, figures we know. Today West Europe, NATO member states, earmark around 3 to 4 percent of the GDP—generally the upper limit—for military expenditure. In Hungary this is 1.4 percent at present. One also has to consider how much the GDP per capita is in the West and in Hungary. If not in 1996 then from 1996, the share of the Army's budget should be gradually increased, I think. This means that 3.5 to 4 percent has to be achieved. [passage omitted]

If we were to improve the Army in a completely self-dependent manner, independent of the intention to join NATO, it would cost more. We should not deny that we are receiving and expecting further support from NATO to be able to meet the conditions of accession. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Minister, obviously the majority of our equipment is based on former Soviet technology. Is it NATO compatible?

[Keleti] No it is not. [passage indistinct] That is why the Hungarian Army introduced its own friend-or-foe system that is NATO compatible. Let me say very proudly that in this region we were the first to do this. We spent more than 1 billion forints on it. As is known, the parliament voted extra money for it from the budget in 1991. [passage omitted]

Recently the Visegrad-4 has met in Trencin, where the United States offered a contribution of nearly $25 million for the modernization of the military and civil air control systems and centers in the Visegrad-4 countries. Our share is $6.25 million. This is almost 1 billion forints. We will not receive it in cash but presumably in equipment and advanced technologies. However, short of this aid program, we would only be able to buy this equipment later.

[Announcer] Mr. Minister, can you see any chance for saving money by the Visegrad states—Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia—preparing jointly for NATO membership?

[Keleti] In a certain sense I can—for example as regards the monitoring and controlling of airspace. However, there are national characteristics in a number of issues that cannot be linked. We have already said several times that we are not striving for the joint accession of the Visegrad-4 but for having cooperation—for instance with the Visegrad-4—that promotes the region's approach to NATO. However, Romania should not be excluded from this issue either, since it has also applied for membership. I think Hungarian-Romanian military relations prove that we want to cooperate with them in the same manner as with the Slovaks, Czechs, and Polish. That is, the gist of the Partnership for Peace in this region is that we should cooperate in the interest of accession.

Defense Minister on Program for Army Reform

LD2102142595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to the defense minister [Gyorgy Keleti], combat readiness and the country's security could get into serious danger if the army's financial situation gets worse. Attila Kert reports from the commanders' task-designating meeting.

[Kert] [Passage omitted] President Goencz said that an armed attack launched directly against the country is not very likely. It is an armed conflict nearby that may pose a threat. Thus the Army also has to prepare itself for tasks ensuing from this. The president admitted that this is not easy, as the Army budget is 1.5 percent of the GDP while in similar countries it is at least around 2.5 percent. Arpad Goencz called the Army the token of the country's stability.

In addition to the soldiers' social situation, Minister Gyoergy Keleti mainly spoke about the forthcoming reform of the armed forces. He said it is just possible to maintain combat readiness under the present economic circumstances. However, equipment is hardly adequate. With the present number and structure the Army cannot be financed any more; thus, transformation cannot be delayed, he said.

In the course of this transformation, first a review of the structure of the middle level is necessary. However, the reform of the forces itself will be a 10-to-15-year program at least. It will have to be implemented on the basis of a law to be adopted as early as this year preferably with the broadest possible consensus, said Defense Minister Gyoergy Keleti in front of the Hungarian Army's top officers.

Romanian, Ethnic Hungarian Atlanta Meeting Viewed

AU2202123495 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Feb 95 p 3

[Editorial by Oszkar Fuzes: "Paper"]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[FBIS Translated Text] If we really continue with it, then there might be some point in it.... The representatives of the Romanian Government and Romania's Hungarians stood up from the Atlanta roundtable with these words. For a long time, the situation has been such that the ability to hold talks is already an achievement.

It again became clear in Atlanta that the Romanian political decisionmakers and the bigger and more influential portion of the public are "angry" at the Hungarians and completely deaf to their reasoning and needs. They openly and stubbornly sweep the facts, legal provisions, and obviously logical arguments from the table. [Romanian Government secretary] Viorel Hrebenciuc, the government's national minority official, even had the audacity to mention at the international press conference: They can see that this is the problem; Bela Marko [chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, RMDSZ; in Romanian: UDMR] is again speaking in Hungarian—although Marko first expounded his message in Romanian, which was also translated to English, and only "sank" into his mother tongue afterwards. This is the confrontational logic that moves the events and the "dialogue." The Romanian Government—taken in a broad sense of the term—consciously uses the means of creating an anti-Hungarian atmosphere. They believe that this is definitely useful for them. If it forces the RMDSZ to retreat, then this is the reason; and if it radicalizes the Hungarian minority, then that is the reason. The latter case is even better: It can be proved that the Hungarians are truly threatening Romania and present a source of conflict in East-Central Europe. (The West is rather inclined to put an equal sign between ethnic "partners," namely the cause and the victim of oppression; they should carry on negotiating and there should be "peace....")

Indeed, under such circumstances, there is not much point in holding negotiations. In this case, however, it is quite certain that the problems will remain and will become deeper. Then it is absolutely certain that the situation of the Hungarian minority will become hopelessly worse in Romania, Slovakia, and Serbia, and no external force or intention exists that could alleviate this in an international framework. No one will ever speak up with any effect—and especially will not take action—in the interest of the radically acting Hungarian minorities who are driven into a corner and isolated from the democratic forces of the majority.

The dilemma is far bigger and more dangerous than to be narrowed down to the question of "to negotiate or not to negotiate." From Budapest's point of view, the issue at stake is not only whether we will or will not have a basic treaty with Romania and Slovakia. For the foreseeable future, the situation will remain that the scapegoat-creating trick still has an effect on the Slovak, Romanian, and Serbian publics. And on others, as well. This is why it has to be repeated a hundred times a day that Hungary does not want conflict or border changes.

It also came to light in Atlanta that it will sooner or later be possible to understand that a civilized settlement of the Hungarian minority's situation, which is in the interest of peace, progress, and European integration, is also in the fundamental interests of the majority population in the neighboring countries. The 10 concrete issues contained in the Atlanta reminder, including autonomy, have at last been laid down on international paper, and this is important even if they are obviously to remain on paper for a long time. In a broader sense, the same is true for the basic treaties and the national minority agreements. They would not be meant for relief, and especially would not serve as a solution. We are far from this.... However, the "paper" might be good if it is a starting point of dialogues and agreements that can be continued. Even then, it is not certain that they will be, but there might be some point in it.

Ministry Looks at 1994 Economic Performance

LD2102210695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In 1994 investment and production significantly increased in Hungary, but at the same time a huge deficit emerged in the country's balance of payments, the Finance Ministry reports. Industrial production increased by more than nine percent and investments increased by 20 percent. However, the deficit reached 10 percent of the GNP. In addition to state indebtedness, companies too have run into debts. The total amount of company loans increased by 350 billion forints last year.

The Ministry of Finance also published estimated figures on the population's consumption—which grew by one to two percent—while the increase in incomes was above the rate of inflation by three to five percent last year.

Problems of Privatized Department Stores Examined

95CH0116B Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Jan 95 p 13

[Article by Antonia Radi: "Large Department Stores Awaiting Reconstruction; No Real Competition for Lack of Specialization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Maybe it is the ravages of time, or perhaps the changes in expectations. At any rate, it seems that the majority of the once-glamorous locales where we used to buy, the once state-owned department stores set to music in the Latabar movie and charmed into capitalist ventures after lesser or greater difficulties, are ready for renovation. The leaders of the companies are aware of this as well. In an interview with NEPSZABADSAG they promised to begin the great transformation this year. As regards this reconstruction, we asked the directors general of two department store chains, Centrum and Skala, about their experiences of the intensifying competition.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Although during the time of the transformation they had to give up some of their stores, Centrum and Skala preserved their considerable market share. They had problems, as well: Centrum was unable to generate the seemingly huge equity increase of 1 billion forints [Ft] promised in the privatization contract, and Skala was attacked in labor court by employees it fired. However, all this did not affect the companies' popularity: Centrum assumed a respectable 18th place among the 50 commercial enterprises with the greatest net sales, and Skala was also among the elite. According to experts, the only reason it failed to be among the top companies is that, due to organizational changes following privatization, the company's volume is divided among several firms that are individual corporations.

For Lack of Competitors

So far, they need not be afraid of real competition. Few entrepreneurs are able to establish the fairly capital-intensive traditional stores that sell everything—especially not a chain of them. And larger capital groups prefer to acquire interest in so-called specialized department store chains, perhaps as a precaution. For instance, Fotex bought Domus; and Kordax, which has up to now been known for its deals in oil and publishing, bought Roltex.

It seems that the future does not belong to small stores. Although small stores are founded one after the other, the majority of them fail or must change their profile. And so far, the market does not want to choose between large specialized department stores and the traditional department stores to the exclusion of one or the other.

Tin Roof Over the Bullet Holes

For the two companies, 1995 will be a year of renovation. However, renovation was already started last year. The Skala Budapest Department Store was given a new look last year, and plans for beautifying Corvin were drawn up at the end of 1994. The same three things are necessary for the renovation of department stores as for war: money, money, and money. Istvan Bruckner, director general of the Centrum department stores, complains about high interest rates—more than 30 percent—because foreign interests can acquire money in their own country under much more favorable terms. Istvan Imre, director general of the Skala Coop corporation, faults panic-mongering by politicians that, in his opinion, discourages foreign investors.

So far it has not been decided whether the renovation of the Corvin department store should begin before the Easter rush or after the holiday, we learned from Istvan Bruckner. Uvaterv completed the plans of the renovation, but the timing is still doubtful. At any rate, it is certain that the temporary inconvenience for shoppers will last no longer than 75 days. The financial prerequisites for the internal reconstruction are present; the corporation generated the Ft150-200 million necessary to carry out the program.

For the time being, the tin siding covering up the bullet holes from 1956 will stay on the Lujza Blaha Square building for lack of necessary funds. However, the internal renovation, which will start on the ground floor, will not be over after the 75 difficult days: The director general reported that in the course of the year, they will spend close to Ft500 million at last year's prices on the building's modernization.

Istvan Bruckner is largely content with the look and technology of stores in the provinces. However, he said that after the renovation of Corvin, which is considered to be the most important, they will take on the rest of the Centrum department stores in Budapest, as well. The corporation expects increased turnover from the reconstruction, and also the advent of a much-awaited investor who will really be prepared to apply his money to raise the corporation's equity.

Metro vs. Metro: Before the Department Store Trial

The Centrum corporation currently has 25 department stores, but the director general does not wish to say how many stores used to flaunt the orange emblem in the heroic age. He emphasized that the current corporation cannot be compared to the former state-owned company. Bruckner likes honest competition, and regards the recently opened Swiss-owned Metro department stores as in this category.

However, Istvan Imre, director general of the Skala Coop corporation is reminded of something else by the word Metro. Namely, Skala sued the concern for using the name. The director general argued that the corporation's own survey revealed that 92 percent of Hungarian shoppers associate the name "Metro Department Store" with the Skala department store with a similar name on Nyugati Square.

The renovation fever that also infected the Skala crew began last year with the store on the Buda side, not the one on the Pest side. And this year it continues with two and perhaps three other stores. Which ones they are remains a secret. According to the director general, the real challenge is not the external renovation but rather the reorganization of the corporate structure. He reported that centralization in their company began approximately one year ago, and the company will see the results in the 1994 balance. Together with the centralization of activities, the technological prerequisites of selling were modernized, from computerized inventory to the prevention of theft. The corporation spent approximately Ft400 million on these features and on reconstruction.

The Skala group currently consists of "merely" six department stores. However, these include the largest Hungarian department store, and three of the five general department stores with the largest turnover. According to the director general of the corporation—in which the German Tengelmann group has a majority interest—the real competition for general department stores are the specialized department stores. At least in principle. Namely: In Hungary, with the exception of furniture, home improvement and craft stores, and certain stores of Keravill, there are no genuine specialized department stores.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

110-Percent Retroactive Pension Increase Planned

95CH0115E Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Jan 95 p 1

[Article by Sz.H.: "A 10-Percent Retroactive Increase of Pensions in April"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Pursuant to the resolution that the Pension Insurance Fund's board adopted at its general meeting yesterday, [monthly] pensions will be increased by 10 percent as of April, retroactively to 1 January. The general meeting reviewed the work the board did last year and its tasks and plans for this year.*

If in the second half of February the parliament adopts a resolution to raise pensions, pensioners will be receiving also the increase for the first three months, together with their April pensions. The board is proposing a minimum increase of 800 forints [per month]. Thus, the minimum increase due retroactively will be 2,400 forints.

There was nothing in the board's proposals regarding a ceiling on the increase in pensions. The cabinet members who attended the board's general meeting did not agree with this. In their opinion, pensions may not be raised by more than 3,500 forints. Mrs. Laszlo Szeremi, the board's deputy chairman, said that this ceiling would affect 580 of the 2.8 million persons receiving pensions, since at present 580 persons are receiving pensions higher than 35,000 forints.

Because of the uncertainty of the economic processes, no decision was made about the rate of the next increase in pensions, due in September. The margin of error in predicting the expected increase in net earning would have been too wide. The board will propose the rate of the September increase by the end of May, on the basis of how the economic processes developed during the first five months. The board also proposed to the government increases in the social benefits that are not being financed through social insurance. A decision on these increases is expected at the cabinet meeting on Thursday. The minimum pension will also be raised retroactively to 1 January. This year the minimum pension will be 8,400 forints [per month].

Plans To Raise Retirement Age for Women Modified

95CH0115F Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Jan 95 p 4

[Article by Erzsebet Nogradi Toth: "Women Age 55 May Choose Between Retirement and Continuing To Work"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Women age 55 may choose between retirement and continuing to work, but an employer may give notice to a woman of retirement age only if he is willing to give her severance pay. The deputy state secretaries of the ministries of social welfare, labor and finance held a press conference yesterday to explain the rules of flexible retirement. We also learned that the introduced new retirement age would affect about 300,000 women through the turn of the millennium.**

The parliament decided two years ago that beginning with 1 January 1995, the retirement age for women would be raised by one year every other year until it reached 60. Last year a statute was enacted that also offers the option of flexible retirement, but a separate law on how to implement the statute has yet to be enacted. That is why separate provisions were necessary for the women who will be 55 this year. We learned that this year women aged 55 will be able to choose between retirement and continuing to work. However, their employer will be able to give them notice only if he is willing to give them severance pay.

Istvan Kakuszi, state secretary at the ministry of social welfare, told NEPSZABADSAG that between 60,000 and 70,000 women would have the option of flexible retirement this year, and through the turn of the millennium 300,000 women would be able to choose between retirement and continuing to work. We also learned that a uniform retirement age is being planned for both men and women. That is warranted because the average life expectancy of a man aged 60 is 15 years, while the average life expectancy of a woman aged 55 is 25 years. It is necessary to change the retirement age also because the ratio of retirees per 1000 economically active persons is 416 today, but will increase to 580 by the turn of the millennium. Bela Bartfai, deputy state secretary at the ministry of finance, added that the paucity of revenue from social-insurance contributions also warrants the change. But the rates of social-insurance contributions cannot be raised further, nor can the amount of the average pension (at present 13,700 forints [per month]) be cut.

Responding to our question, Lilla Garzo, deputy state secretary at the ministry of labor, said that her ministry takes cognizance of the rise in the age of compulsory retirement, but intends to implement it circumspectly. Through the turn of the millennium, there will be a further increase in the number of young people who are entering the job market but will be squeezed out by the higher retirement age. That will produce higher unemployment, which might become a source of intergenerational conflict. The government is hoping to alleviate this problem through the expansion of early retirement and by amending the Labor Code.

Educational Disadvantages of Gypsies Detailed

95CH0116A Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Jan 95 p 4

[Article by "O.N.": "Educated Gypsies Rare; Unequal Opportunities Primarily Due to Lack of Education; Clever Reforms To Break Vicious Circle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An independent study on the educational achievements of Gypsy children was introduced at a recent conference at the labor ministry

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

devoted to the situation of Hungarian Gypsies on the job market. According to the author—Gabor Kertesi, a researcher at the Economic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences—the greater than average unemployment among Gypsies is largely due to failures experienced in school.

The school statistics data utilized by the study were provided to the research by the Ministry of Education. A part of these data had been available before, but the period from the seventies to today is a novelty in the profession. However, Gabor Kertesi considers it a fatal error that the ministry has recently stopped evaluating Gypsy students.

The dropout rate of Gypsy children is tangibly confirmed by indices of the educational chances of students who entered first grade in 1981. While 88.5 percent of non-Gypsy students completed the eighth grade, 63.5 percent of Gypsy students dropped out.

Still, the study shows that the most critical point in the creation of a considerable inequality of chances is in secondary education. After completing elementary school, 66.4 percent of Gypsy students did not continue their education. Among the rest of the students, this figure is only 8.6 percent. Of the Gypsy children who completed eighth grade, only 3.2 percent went on to high school (30.5 percent went on to vocational school), but not quite two-thirds of them completed high school. In the vocational schools, too, more than half of the Gypsy students dropped out. The generation in the study arrived in the first year of high schools and vocational schools in 1989. In that school year, there were more than 35,000 students in the first year of high school in Hungary; of these only 71 were Gypsies! In the second year, there were 52, in the third, 46, and in the fourth, 44—compared to the total number of more than 31,000 fourth-year high school students.

It is worth noting that during the twelve years of the study, the number of Gypsy students continuing their education beyond the eighth grade grew only very slightly. In the 1980-81 school year, the number of Gypsy students in high school, vocational high school, and technical school was 507, while in 1992-93 it reached 581. In the same period, in the same educational institutions, the number of non-Gypsy students grew by more than half, from 202,000 to 311,000.

The study shows that the social disadvantages of Gypsies are largely due to the fact that this ethnic group lags behind in education. According to one calculation, in Hungary the chances of an individual with higher education's becoming unemployed are 27 times smaller than those of a completely uneducated individual; and in finding employment, the chances of a young person with a high school degree are 3.5 times greater than those of a person who started elementary school but did not complete it.

According to Gabor Kertesi, the low level of education is a veritable vicious circle for the Gypsies, from which they could break out through clever reforms, and the state has a huge responsibility here. Special educational programs are needed for Gypsies, primarily in order to reduce the costs. Many Gypsy parents give up educating their children because of the financial burden. The establishment of a system of scholarships for Gypsy students would be helpful. The preparation of gifted Gypsy children for high school could begin as early as the sixth grade. Furthermore, it would be very important to ensure the employment of Gypsy youngsters through special programs once they reached a certain degree. This would generate more favorable information in the environment of the supported youths, and other Gypsy families would be more likely to educate their children if they noticed that in this way they could provide a better livelihood for them.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Balcerowicz Being Considered To Head UW

WS2102132995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Feb 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Malgorzata Subotic: "After Balcerowicz Has Joined the Freedom Union: Unexpected Change of Supporters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A party congress scheduled for the beginning of April is to decide whether Leszek Balcerowicz will replace Tadeusz Mazowiecki as head of the Freedom Union [UW]. Politicians representing the left wing of the party would welcome the change ("Balcerowicz is a manager who can carry out a remedy program within UW"), while liberals and right-wingers are apprehensive ("Only Mazowiecki can guarantee maintaining a tough line of opposition to the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and Polish Peasant Party [PSL] coalition.")*

After one full year of intensive cajoling, UW politicians succeeded in convincing Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy prime minister in two Solidarity governments, to join the party and issue a preliminary statement that he is ready to take over as UW leader. Paradoxically enough, the most persistent "coaxers" from one year ago have now come to oppose those who currently want Balcerowicz to be the UW leader.

Those who want the former deputy prime minister to become their leader are simultaneously the most ardent supporters of Jacek Kuron's candidacy for president.

Last April, the unification congress of the Democratic Union [UD] and the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD] handed the leadership over to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, with the restriction, however, that in 12 months' time a new leader would be elected. Yet, just a few weeks before unification, no one knew who the new party leader would be because Mazowiecki resigned. He said he no longer wanted to be the "UW fastener."

Critical remarks on Mazowiecki's becoming the head of the party made by representatives of the left wing, including Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Zofia Kuratowska, played an important role.

Mazowiecki's resignation clearly showed there was no successor: Appointing Jan Maria Rokita or Wladyslaw Frasyniuk would cause the uniting UW to split in two. Hence, the idea to chose someone who is not associated with any of the UW wings, with authority drawn from past achievements: thus the deputy prime minister of the first two Solidarity governments, Leszek Balcerowicz, seemed ideal.

Rokita and the liberals were the keenest coaxers. Balcerowicz did not make any commitment at the time—he had several hours to reach a decision (just before the UD congress, at which the new leader was to be elected, began.) At almost the same time, Mazowiecki was convinced that he should not resign, mainly by Bronislaw Geremek and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. The "Balcerowicz case" thus became nonexistent, but the former deputy prime minister still received a standing ovation at the unification congress. As a guest, he suggested a name for the new party, which the delegates approved. He did not join the new group at the time, however.

Half a year ago, he refused to run for president on the UW ticket. KLD activists were very much for such a move.

It has been rumored within UW for the past few months that there are attempts to convince Balcerowicz to join UW and take over as party leader. This time the supporters of this idea are a completely different group—the left wing and heads of the parliamentary club, led by Geremek.

The staunchest supporters of Jacek Kuron as a presidential candidate are at the same time those who are most zealous in trying to persuade Balcerowicz to head the party.

"He is a manager, an outsider, capable of carrying out a remedy project within the party." This is how Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, an advocate of Leszek Balcerowicz's becoming head of UW, explains his motives. "Electing Balcerowicz for UW head would cause the public image of our group to become more dynamic," says Ludwik Turko, whose attitudes are very similar to those of Zofia Kuratowska. "The liberals will no longer be able to accuse us of departing from a liberal approach to the economy," says a politician from the parliamentary club, who asked to remain anonymous.

"Only Mazowiecki can guarantee that UW will keep up its hard-line opposition to the SLD-PSL coalition. Changing the leader at this time means we have to form an alliance with the SLD and cogovern with the Polish left," claims a representative of the UW right wing, also wishing to remain anonymous because he does not wish to "talk to his party colleagues via the press." He went on to say that "if Mazowiecki and Balcerowicz ran against one another, Mazowiecki would win, despite the fact that he has many weaknesses as a leader." Will Mazowiecki resign? "I have no intention of resigning as the UW leader. There are democratic procedures; the congress shall decide," Tadeusz Mazowiecki told PANORAMA [television newscast] yesterday.

Secretary General of UW Bronislaw Komorowski claims that, if Balcerowicz is elected party leader, UW would tilt toward social liberalism. Komorowski does not rule out the eventuality that Balcerowicz's supporters will want to bring about a historical compromise between the Solidarity and postcommunist camps very rapidly. "Only Mazowiecki can guarantee stability for UW, which is so diversified in attitudes," he adds.

PSL Reevaluates Its Economic Program at Congress

WS2102132695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Feb 95 p 9

[Article by Edmund Szot: "PSL's Economic Program: Private Cow, State-Owned Bull"]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Fourth Congress of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] held on 18-19 February in Warsaw confirmed the basic trends of the party's social and economic program, which remain faithful to the option of the so-called third way.*

Neither capitalism, with its emphasis on profit, nor socialism, which aspires to "meet social needs," but something in the middle, which is often referred to as "controlled market economy." Controlled by an omnipotent state that knows better than the producer and the consumer what each of them really needs. The authors of the PSL's social and economic program believe this is "a fusion of the elements of the market economy, with principles of social justice." The main criterion for revenue distribution is, according to the PSL program, contribution in labor. This implies that capital is inferior to labor, a theme present in the teachings of the church, particularly in the encyclicals of John Paul II. Profits are desirable inasmuch as they are "socially justified."

According to authors of the PSL program, key enterprises for the national economy and defense should remain the property of the State Treasury, or remain under strict control of the state administration. The PSL has once again condemned impetuous privatization and administrative measures aimed at accelerating the rate of privatization. It claims that economic calculations and not ideology should be decisive in making any decisions pertaining to privatization. As far as retribution is concerned, the party is against repealing nationalization laws and allows for compensation only in cases of property being confiscated in violation of laws in effect at the time. In the case of nationalized property, the party suggests a "Let bygones be bygones" attitude, which can be interpreted as "separating the past from the future." Agrarian reform will thus not be revised.

The PSL claims that 7-10 percent of land should remain within farms owned by the State Treasury, so that they can fulfill "various functions to the benefit of the whole farming community," acting as outposts of the breeding industry (artificial insemination stations) and promoting technological and organizational advancement.

It is generally stated that an "active, leading role of the state," "with large-scale applications of state interventionism methods" is necessary to foster the economic growth of the country. The state should "rectify the negative influence of the market" and take full responsibility for employment policies (unemployment, according to the PSL, cannot serve as an instrument for activating employees) and even "promote technological advancement."

In terms of foreign economic cooperation, the party is "against a liberal opening up of our economy to the world." Customs and tariffs policies should cause capital and technology, not goods, to flow into Poland. Tax policy should correlate maximum earnings with the improvement of the standard of living in the poorest social strata.

Land and its prudent management is considered to be crucial for the sovereignty of the state. The aim of all agricultural development projects is to ensure that the nation has an adequate food supply, and agrarian policies are to facilitate "full utilization of the production potential of agriculture." Because, according to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, Poland can easily feed as many as 80 million people, one may expect that attempts will be made to at least double current agricultural production. The authors of the project were not interested in how much it would cost to subsidize exports of the agricultural produce surplus. The Fourth PSL Congress also demanded that a provision be included in the future constitution stating that "the fundamental element of the agrarian system in Poland is family-run farms, which come under the state's special protection." Agriculture is to be monitored through state interventionism to a greater extent than industry.

As far as state administration is concerned, the PSL is against establishing a second level of self-government in powiats [administrative units larger than gminas, smaller than voivodships]. The party also opposes reducing the number of voivodships or creating regions. The old theory of "wasting means" and "destabilizing social and political life" are brought up. The party is not against Poland's becoming a member of the EU. It does, however, claim that not only Poland should adapt to Europe, but Europe also has to adapt to Poland. "Just as much of Europe is in Poland as there is Poland in Europe," said the delegates.

Poll: Poles Fear Russia but Favor Trade With It

WS2102133795 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 17 Feb 95 pp 1, 12

[Article by "(p)": "Poles on Russia; Fear of Russia, Trade With Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Poles fear Russia and are critical of its political intentions. They do, however, believe that it is necessary to conduct trade with this country.

Nearly two-thirds of Poles are of the opinion that Russia is striving to reconstruct the former Soviet Union. Almost as many believe that Russia is not becoming a democratic state.

Poles feel threatened. As many as 65 percent believe that Russia "is trying to subordinate to itself Central European countries, including Poland." Asked bluntly whether Russia poses a threat to Poland, 53 percent of Poles responded positively (33 percent believe it does not pose a threat).

The farther to the west, the smaller the fear, notes Jacek Cichocki of the Sociology Department at the University of Warsaw, who analyzed the research results. There is more concern among people who live in the east, in the Malopolska [Krakow] region, and in the central part of the country. This may be linked to the fact that in these regions one is more likely to come across an eastern

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

visitor than in other parts of Poland. It may also result from the traditional anti-Russian attitude in those areas, related to historical experiences, particularly the experiences of the last two centuries.

The perception of the Russian threat is similar among Poles with elementary and secondary education. People holding university degrees do not fear Russia as much. The higher the level of education, however, the more negative the evaluation of the internal situation in the Russian Federation and its activities on the international arena.

According to Cichocki, the fact that Poles have developed such a picture of Russia is a consequence of the events that have occurred in recent months, first of all the war in Chechnya. Moreover, the Kremlin consistently objects to the integration of Central European states into NATO, and in October of last year it responded quite aggressively to the incident that took place at the Eastern Railway Station in Warsaw.

Nonetheless, only 30 percent assess Polish-Russian relations as bad. Most of the respondents (52 percent) think that these relations are "neither good nor bad." According to 14 percent, they are good.

Despite the fears of Moscow, as many as 51 percent of the respondents believe that our level of economic cooperation should be boosted. Cichocki draws attention to the fact that as many as half of them are people who believe that Russia currently poses a threat to Poland. Only 11 percent are of the opinion that cooperation with Russia should be gradually restricted. "This may mean that most people in Poland will evaluate Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's visit in Poland positively because it is first of all economic accords that are going to be signed," Cichocki says.

Poles on Russia

Does Russia pose a threat to Poland?	
Yes	53 percent
No	33 percent

Does Russia want to reconstruct the Soviet Union?	
Yes	60 percent
No	22 percent

Does Russia want to subordinate to itself Central Europe, including Poland?	
Yes	65 percent
No	20 percent

Russia in the Eyes of Poles

Is Russia becoming a democratic state?	
Yes	22 percent
No	58 percent

Is it trying to develop good relations with all countries in Europe?	
Yes	26 percent
No	59 percent

Should Poland increase or decrease economic cooperation with Russia, or should it remain as it is?	
Increase	51 percent
Decrease	11 percent
Leave as is	28 percent
Hard to tell	10 percent

A Trip to Russia

Would you like to visit Russia?	
No	70 percent
Yes	28 percent

Have you ever been to Russia or the former Soviet Union?	
No	78 percent
Yes	22 percent

* * *

RUN [expansion unknown] research conducted on 18-24 January with a representative name-address [imienno-adresowa] sample of 969 Poles over age 15. The statistical margin of error is plus or minus 3.5 percent.

Poll on Top Officials', Bodies' Impact on State

WS2102141195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by "R.W.": "CBOS Poll: Top Authorities Are Impairing the State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Nearly two-thirds of Poles closely follow the conflicts between politicians and top state authorities. Eight in 10 claim that these wrangles have an impact on the everyday life of ordinary citizens. The activities of top state officials, particularly the president, damage rather than strengthen the state. These opinions were gathered in a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] in the first days of February.*

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The poll was carried out at the height of political conflict: The president had seriously threatened to dissolve parliament and appealed against the budget law to the Constitutional Tribunal, while the coalition had not yet decided what to do. The answers given by respondents demonstrate that Poles were far more interested in that specific conflict than in former top-level clashes. Last October, 45 percent declared an interest in current events; in February the number soared to 62 percent. More people claim that such conflicts have an impact on the life of the average citizen. Last fall, 68 percent of those polled acknowledged that fact, and in the latest poll 81 percent.

The prevailing opinion is that the current demeanor of top authorities is not beneficial to the state. This belief is particularly widespread in the case of the president: 64 percent of those polled claim he is weakening the state. By comparison, 44 percent thought likewise of the government, and 40 percent of the Sejm.

According to more than half of those polled (55 percent), Lech Walesa appealed against the budget law primarily to obstruct the Sejm and the government. Meanwhile, fewer (27 percent) said that neglect of the interests of ordinary people in the budget law raised the president's doubts.

	Fortifies State	Weakens State	Hard To Say
	(in percent)		
Sejm	34	40	26
President	13	64	23
Government	25	44	31

* * *

The poll was conducted by CBOS on 3-6 February on a sample group of 1,223 adult citizens of Poland.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

New Agency To Control Strategic Imports, Exports

AU2102171995 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 16 Feb 95 p 12

[Article by Oana Maiuga: "The Government Has Set Up the National Agency for Control Over Strategic Exports and the Ban on Chemical Weapons"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

The UM 0215 Economic Investigations Division Is To Check Out Everyone Who Requests Licenses in This Field

The Romanian Government has issued an ordinance regarding the status of imports and exports of strategic products. Such operations are to be placed under the control of an agency and authorized by licenses.

This category comprises top-grade products, technologies, and services in civilian or military industries in connection with chemical, nuclear, or biological weapons as well as missiles capable of carrying such weapons, armament, ammunition, and other military equipment. As a matter of fact, the government is to establish which of the products are strategic and which are not, by publishing lists of these products.

To observe international accords on both the economic and the national security plane, they have set up the National Agency for Control Over Strategic Exports and the Ban on Chemical Weapons [ANCESIAC], which is a special government body.

The Customs-Clearing of Strategic Products Is To Take Place at Specially Designated Units

The aforementioned agency is entitled to issue licenses to importers and exporters who apply for such licenses. They are to decide on license applications within 30 days, starting from the day the applicant pays the fee for the necessary documentation. Licenses are valid six months from the issue date.

Should someone wish to extend his license, a reconfirmation from the bodies that originally issued the license is required. The customs-clearing of strategic products is to occur only at specially designated customs units.

Control over merchandise circulating between any two given states is very tight and is exerted in both countries.

The user is to sign a guarantee vouching that he will use the product in his country and for the declared purpose only. He is also obligated to make it possible for the exporter to check whether the product has reached its final destination point.

Licenses for Armament Are To Be Issued by the Military Supply Department

Control over such products is exerted both by the ANCESIAC and the Interinisterial Council. The latter consists of individuals in the leadership of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Defense, the Interior Ministry, the Industry Ministry, the Ministry of Commerce, and others.

The council examines and subsequently sanctions applications for strategic products import-export licenses. The import-export licenses are then issued by the Ministry of Commerce. As far as armament, ammunition, or other military equipment are concerned, such licenses are issued by the Military Supply Department.

The UM 0215 Economic Investigations Division Is To Investigate the Applicants

In checking out license applications, the ANCESIAC enjoys the direct support of the Interior Ministry's Economic Investigations Division, which is part of its Intelligence Service—UM [Military Unit] 0215. Thus, upon request of the agency, the aforementioned special investigation body is to carry out special investigating work.

Fines Are Ridiculously Low

Should the government ordinance stipulations be violated, they have established penalties that, considering the extremely high value of strategic products (weapons, radioactive substances, and missiles), are rather symbolic.

Not following up on the final destination of strategic products as pledged in the documents, is regarded as a violation and penalized with fines of between 500.000 and 5 million lei.

Not declaring or not clearing strategic products through customs; not presenting documents proving the merchandise has reached the final purchaser; and denying assistance in verifying various relevant aspects related to the conclusion, execution, and completion of import or export deals—should the latter be considered fraudulent—are considered contraventions and penalized with penalties of between 100,000 and 500,000 lei.

ANCESIAC is a special body subordinate to the prime minister.

UDMR Sets Up Council for 'Domestic Diaspora'

AU2102174195 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 17 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by Silviu Achim: "The UDMR Sets Up Its Council for Diaspora"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the end of last week, in the town of Aiud, the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] and the Transylvanian Reformed Church diocese jointly sponsored and initiated the setting up of a council for the diaspora. In the view of the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

UDMR leaders, the ethnic Hungarian community living in Romania may be divided into three categories: The first zone is covered by the counties of Covasna, Harghita, and a part of Mures, where the ethnic Hungarians represent the absolute majority of the population. The second consists of the municipalities or groups of localities in which the ethnic Hungarians are a minority but still represent a considerable proportion of the inhabitants (as is the case of various localities in the counties of Cluj, Salaj, Bihor, Satu Mare, and so on). Finally, the third zone consists of the counties in which the number of ethnic Hungarians is less than 15-20 percent of the total population. The latter represents the so-called domestic diaspora.

The UDMR believes that the ethnic Hungarians living in the third category area are the most threatened with the loss of their ethnic identity, owing to natural processes such as mixed marriages, day-by-day bilingual practice, and so on. That is the reason why the council pays them special attention. Recently, at the Targu Mures conference of the UDMR representatives, executive chairman Csaba Takacs presented a lengthy and documented briefing on the state of the domestic Hungarian diaspora, also sketching a program to support such communities. The Council for Diaspora, for the time being just a baby in long clothes, is one of the already materialized points of the aforementioned program. Its task is to list all the concrete problems facing this part of the ethnic Hungarians and to offer consultations regarding the material and financial funds needed to solve them. The special importance given to the new body is also revealed by the fact that Barna Bodo, the political deputy chairman of the UDMR (and a very good organizer), was designated to manage the new council.

Parliament Passes Defense, Intelligence Budgets

AU2102172495 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 16 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by Raluca Stroe Brumariu and Anca Lazarescu: "The SRI Budget Was Approved Without Debates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The budget allotted to the Ministry of National Defense was supplemented with 3 billion lei, these expenses being actually foreseen for peacekeeping operations and the Partnership for Peace [PFP] program. Thus, the defense budget amounts to 1.7727 trillion lei, to which a further 13 billion lei was allotted for the participation of the Romanian Army in the PFP, the total amount representing 2.93 percent of the GNP. This additional 3 billion lei was the sole supplement accepted by Finance Minister Florin Georgescu. Although Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca admitted that the allotted funds were insufficient, he did not back the motion of Nicolae Alexandru, a member of the chamber of deputies on behalf of the Democratic Party, calling for an additional 191-billion-lei supplement, the defense minister claiming solidarity with the government. Asked about the funds allotted to the Foreign Intelligence Service [SIE], Mr. Tinca first waited for Florin Georgescu to whisper in his ear that it amounts to 30 billion lei, after which he announced that "just for your personal information" (that is, for the information of the parliamentarian who had asked the question) the SIE budget actually amounts to 36 billion lei.

For the Interior Ministry, the parliamentarians approved a budget totalling 1.0212 trillion lei, that is precisely the amount stipulated by the draft 1995 state budget. However, the budget bill also stipulates that the Interior Ministry will also benefit from a financing source over which no one has control: That ministry is entitled to keep 15 percent of the money in national and hard currency, as well as goods, cashed by it in the form of fines and confiscations. It is worth mentioning that the Interior Ministry is the only one to benefit from such a privilege. The opposition tried but failed to have this stipulation of the budget bill eliminated.

Surprisingly enough, the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] budget, which according to the draft budget is to amount to 108.5 billion lei, was approved within two minutes without any debates whatsoever. It is worth mentioning that the funds allotted to the SRI represent about two-thirds of the budget earmarked for culture and the arts.

[The daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian on 16 February, page 4, publishes a report signed by Doru Dragomir carrying the following additional information: "Yesterday, being present in parliament to attend the debates on the defense budget, National Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca stated that under the current circumstances, this year's budget allotted to the Foreign Intelligence Service (SIE) is included in the 'other expenses' chapter of the National Defense Ministry budget. Tinca revealed that they are working on a bill regulating the organization of the SIE, and the fact that there are delays in the elaboration of this bill should not be in any way interpreted as proof of a certain policy or orientation pursued by the government."]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

UN: Serbs, Abdic Forces Using Food as 'Weapon'

AU2102133295 Paris AFP in English 1302 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Feb 21 (AFP)—UN officials on Tuesday accused secessionist Serb forces in Croatia and their Moslem rebel allies in Bosnia of using food as a weapon in their war against the Bosnian government.

Meanwhile, UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi and UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commander, General Bertrand de Lapresle, were in Knin, the headquarters of the secessionist Serbs from Croatia's Krajina region, to demand that they lift restrictions imposed on humanitarian convoys bound for government-held territory in the besieged northwest Bosnian enclave of Bihac, UNPROFOR spokesman Alexander Ivanko said here.

Both the Krajina Serbs and Moslem rebels under the command of Fikret Abdic, a business tycoon-cum-warlord, are preventing aid convoys from reaching up to 200,000 people trapped inside Bihac pocket, Ivanko said. There is "a systematic use of food as a weapon of war," he said. "We have not seen cases of starvation, but of extreme misery and extreme malnutrition," he added. [passage omitted]

A total of some 180 tonnes of food have reached the enclave since the beginning of the year while at least 2,000 tonnes per month are needed, Ivanko said. Some 28 tonnes of food were however distributed on Monday by Bangladeshi peacekeepers inside the pocket, he added. He did not say where the food had come from.

Low level fighting continued Monday in the enclave with 64 heavy weapon explosions monitored to the east and southeast of Velika Kladusa and 28 in the vicinity of Bihac town where government forces are facing off Bosnian Serbs.

In Sarajevo Monday, Bosnian Serb and government forces exchanged three prisoners for each side. A further exchange of corpses was to take place on Tuesday.

Aid Convoy Reaches Government-Held Bihac Enclave

AU2202100795 Paris AFP in English 0928 GMT 22 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 22 (AFP)—A humanitarian convoy reached Bosnian government-held territory in the northwest Bihac enclave Wednesday morning with desperately needed food for people trapped there by the war, the UNHCR said here.

The 10-truck convoy with 99 tonnes of food reached Cazin, in the centre of the pocket, after being allowed through the lines of the Serb-backed Moslem rebels who are fighting government forces, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Kris Janowski said.

The convoy which left Zagreb on Monday was held up repeatedly, first by separatist Croatian Serbs and then by their Moslem rebel allies who control the north of the pocket around the town of Velika Kladusa. The convoy got through a day after UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi reached an agreement with the breakaway Croatian Serbs at their headquarters in Knin on getting aid into the government-held part of Bihac pocket.

UN officials had earlier accused the Serbs in Croatia of using food as "a weapon of war" by systematically blocking the aid convoys. A second UNHCR food convoy, also with some 100 tonnes of food, Wednesday morning was crossing the border from Croatia into Bosnia, by way of Velika Kladusa, before heading across the confrontation line into government-held territory.

UN aid organisations have spoken of "misery and suffering" in the pocket because of lack of food, but Bosnian Foreign minister Irfan Ljubijankic said there was now starvation in the pocket. The situation was especially critical for babies in hospitals due to the lack of special milk, he said. The UNHCR estimates that some 2,000 tonnes of food per month are needed to help feed up to 200,000 people in the pocket.

With the arrival of the latest convoy, some 300 tonnes of food have now reached government-held territory since the beginning of the year.

UN Considering Use of Force To Aid Bihac

LD2102214695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] UN peacekeeping troops are considering the possibility of using force and NATO air support to get the humanitarian aid convoy to Bihac, the B-H PRESS news agency has learned from high-ranking UN Protection Force officers who wished to remain anonymous.

The decision to carry out such an operation is in the hands of Yasushi Akashi, a high-ranking UNPROFOR officer told B-H PRESS.

UN's Eckhard Assesses B-H Situation

LD2102142795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1330 GMT 21 Feb 95

["Pool" item; by Vjekoslav Radovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Feb. 21 (TANJUG)—All warring sides in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina manipulate truth and facts, U.N. spokesman for peace operations Fred Eckhard has told TANJUG.

Eckhard, who has just returned from Bosnia, listed as one such example an article by the OSLOBODJENJE newspaper, published in the Muslim-held part of Sarajevo, saying that 47 children have died in the Bihac hospital because of intolerable conditions. A BBC team,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

which has visited the hospital in this northwestern Bosnian town, has established that it is in quite good condition, although it occasionally has to grapple with shortages of certain medicine, said Eckhard, who during his three-week stay in Bosnia visited Bihac, Sarajevo and Mostar.

Referring to Muslim allegations that Bosnian Serbs had destroyed Bihac, Eckhard said considerable damage was visible in villages around Bihac, but said the town itself had not sustained much damage.

Relations between Bosnian Muslims and Croats have lately again deteriorated, with tensions becoming increasingly evident, he said. He said, however, he did not believe there was an imminent danger of new Muslim-Croat clashes.

Eckhard said a powerful international hand that wanted to salvage the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina that was conceived in Washington—was in action. What we have here are strained relations in an unnatural marriage rather than a danger of a forced divorce, he said.

Following nearly a year of bitter fighting, the Bosnian Muslims and Croats signed under U.S. pressure in Washington last March an agreement to form a binational federation, which, however, is still a dead letter.

Commenting on frequent statements by U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to the effect that if the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] pulled out from Croatia, then it would also have to pull out from Bosnia, Eckhard said it was realistic to believe that this would happen, but it would not happen automatically.

Some fear, however, that if UNPROFOR withdraws from Croatia, both Serbs and Croats would try to take strategic points as soon as UNPROFOR pulls out from them, which would be enough to fan conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said. UNPROFOR is continuing to work on plans for the UNPROFOR pullout, since the prevailing view is that it would be very difficult for Croatia to reverse its decision at this point, although it can be expected that it would be subjected to increased international pressure in order to prevent the UNPROFOR withdrawal.

Croatia announced in mid-January that it would deny hospitality to UNPROFOR after the expiry of its current mandate on March 31. If proposals by the five-member 'Contact Group' for Bosnia do not gain political momentum in Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo, the region could be struck in the spring by fighting that we have not seen so far, he said.

In that connection, Eckhard said talks were inevitable between Krajina Serbs and the Croatian Government, between Bosnian Serbs and the Sarajevo Muslim government, as well as with the most important factor in the region—Belgrade.

Abdic: Wrong Opinion About West Bosnia

LD2102180095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 21 Feb 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Petrovac, Feb. 21 (TANJUG)—President of the Muslim-populated autonomous province of west Bosnia Fikret Abdic on Tuesday said the international public and institutions were adopting wrong decisions and opinions about west Bosnia on the basis of half-truths, and inaccurate and unchecked information.

The United Nations Security Council on Feb. 18 called for an end of hostilities in the Bihac pocket in the western part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and condemned what it described as a difficult humanitarian situation in that part of Bosnia. It also demanded that all forces in the Bihac region stop fighting at once and start cooperating with the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in securing an effective cease-fire.

In a letter to the U.N. Security Council, Abdic said such a call to the people and leadership of the autonomous province of west Bosnia raised doubts over the good intentions and moral qualities of those determining the final settlement of the crisis, said Velkaton Radio loyal to Abdic.

Inter-Muslim clashes in western Bosnia broke out in September 1993, when local Muslim population led by Fikret Abdic declared autonomy, rejecting the war policy of the Muslim government in Sarajevo and Alija Izetbegovic, the leader of part of the Bosnian Muslims. Izetbegovic's Fifth Corps managed at the end of August last year to force out of the province more than 60,000 Abdic's followers but they returned in late October to liberate nearly the entire territory of the Muslim province.

Abdic said in the letter to the U.N. that a new 'humanitarian offensive' aimed at protecting Alija Izetbegovic and his Fifth Corps was looming. The Fifth Corps has in the past few days also acted against Bosnian Serb positions in the region precisely from the U.N.-designated demilitarized zone of Bihac, he said. He said the same means of brain-washing of the innocent public were used again because of fear of a counter-offensive. He said the truth was completely different.

Addressing the U.N. secretary-general's special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, Abdic said that humanitarian convoys sent to the local population were taking insecure roads while the Fifth Corps was attacking on days when they are planned to pass, so that the west Bosnian troops could be held responsible for possible incidents.

Serb Reconnaissance Aircraft Overfly Cazin Area

AU2102192395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It is finally a quieter day in the UN safe haven of Bihac. The joint Serbian aggressors have mainly directed their attacks on the Velika Kladusa part of the front. Martic's and Abdic's chetniks shelled the local villages and provoked infantry clashes. Their activities today focused again on bringing in fresh forces and hardware and on reconnaissance and engineering works. On two occasions, chetnik aircraft overflew Cazin, but did not attack. They were obviously involved in reconnaissance, as they were before they bombed that part of the Bihac region in the past.

On the Bosanska Krupa front, there was some sporadic shelling and some antiaircraft and small arms fire. There was also some occasional shelling and reinforcement by chetniks on other parts of the front in the theater of operation of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council for the Bihac regions. [passage omitted]

Serbs, Abdic Forces Renew Attacks on Bihac

AU2202104495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Feb 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Early this morning the joint aggressors and Abdic's paramilitaries launched a fierce offensive in the areas of Podzvizd, Kumarica, Rajnovci, and Crni Vrh. Following fierce artillery preparations, the infantry—supported by tanks—launched its attack. The members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps successfully repelled the initial attacks of the joint aggressors and the Kladusa paramilitary units and pushed them back to their initial positions. This was immediately followed by even fiercer shelling of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's defense lines and a fresh unsuccessful attempt at breaking through the strong defense. Massive movements of enemy troops and hardware have been reported in the area. This implies that an even fiercer and more extensive offensive is about to be launched on the free territories of the Bihac District.

The other fronts are mostly calm with only sporadic sniper and small arms provocations. The morning is relatively quiet around the Bihac protected area. Only on the demarcation lines there is sporadic enemy sniper fire and antiaircraft fire.

Blue Route Negotiation Resumes at Sarajevo Airport

AU2102151295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Negotiations are again held at Sarajevo Airport. At 1000 this morning, Hasan Muratovic, head of the state Commission for Cooperation With United Nations, left for fresh talks with the aggressor side on the use of the airport runway and the blue routes, as well as other points of the agreement signed on 31 December last year.

The aggressor side at these talks is represented by Nikola Koljevic. According to a statement issued by Aleksandr Ivanko, spokesman of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] civil department for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the return of the B-H Army delegations to the joint central mission meetings depends on the success of these talks. The aggressor side is preventing the realization of the agreement that envisages the use of the blue routes for commercial purposes, B-H PRESS reports.

Official Relations With Russia To Be Established

AU2102131895 Paris AFP in English 1250 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Feb 21 (AFP)—Bosnia and Russia are to formally establish official inter-state relations Tuesday in the first step towards full diplomatic ties, Bosnian foreign ministry officials said.

The diplomatic notes would be exchanged in Moscow, ministry official Hasan Dervisbegovic told AFP. "This is the first step towards full diplomatic recognition of the two countries," Dervisbegovic said.

"The next step will be the exchange of ambassadors, but for the time being this means simply officializing the Bosnian mission in Russia and possibly opening of a Russian mission here," Dervisbegovic said.

Russia has no official presence in Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

Serbs Hold Talks With Ukrainian Delegation

LD2102193095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Srpska republic [RS], and Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the army of the RS, had talks in Lukavica today with Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov and his deputy, Colonel General [as received] Vasyl Sobkov, about possible ways of resolving the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

After the meeting, SRNA reported, Koljevic assessed that the Ukrainian delegation fully understands the problems in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and that "it understands why the Serb side cannot accept the Contact Group proposal on the resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, or rather Bosnia-Herzegovina, as opposed to the international community which hitherto has not respected Serb interests."

According to the Ukrainian defense minister, "the government of this state is seriously concerned about the current situation not only in the former Yugoslavia but also in the whole of Europe." Ukraine will exert its influence by political means and by mediating in diplomatic talks in order to overcome the current situation, Shmarov said.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Ljubijankic: Army Preparing for 'Renewed War'

AU2102173595 Paris AFP in English 1708 GMT 21 Feb 95

[Report by Francis Curta: "Bosnia, Fearing Failure of Peace Initiatives, Prepares for War"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 21 (AFP)—Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic Tuesday [21 February] accused the international community of playing diplomatic games, saying Bosnia for its part had to prepare for renewed war.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev this weekend failed to convince Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to recognize Croatia and Bosnia and the international "Contact Group" on Bosnia, of which Russia is a member, was running out of ideas on how to convince the Serbs to accept peace, he told AFP.

"Unfortunately, we are playing diplomatic games without any results," he said. As a result, "we think we have no other choice than to strengthen our state, strengthen our army, strengthen our diplomatic efforts to be prepared for a continuation of the war," when the current ceasefire runs out, he added.

If a peace settlement is not rapidly found "I do not think the cessation of hostilities will be renewed," he said, speaking of the four-month truce agreement which came into effect at the start of the year.

"We have learnt from the international community that we cannot expect real help, except in humanitarian aid," he said, adding that Bosnia now had to look to its own forces to fight the Serbs. "We have accepted the proposed international peace plan, we have done our utmost (...) to accept it in spite of the fact it is not a just plan (...) But it is the bottom line of our concessions, we cannot give more," he said.

"We want peace, but we have to be prepared for war," he said, adding that the international community had failed to pressure the Serbs into accepting peace terms. The Bosnian army was reorganising and rearming, he said.

"Our main source (of weapons) is our own production," he said, declining to say whether his country got arms from abroad in breach of an international arms embargo. The Bosnian army now had 80 to 90 tanks, he said, adding that all had been seized from the enemy.

Bosnian commander-in-chief General Rasim Delic has also recently been appearing on television warning that soldiers must be prepared for a resumption of the war.

Ljubijankic also suggested that Bosnia and Croatia could cooperate in fighting attempts by separatists to form a "Greater Serbia." He doubted however that Croatia would force the UN Protection Force to withdraw from its territory, suggesting a last minute compromise might be found to allow blue helmets to remain in Croatia after their current mandate there expires on March 31.

The Zagreb government, angry at lack of progress in talks with its own Serb secessionists who have seized a quarter of the country, has said it will force the UN to leave, thereby removing the current buffer which has helped maintain a local ceasefire.

Ljubijankic dismissed suggestions by UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali that UNPROFOR would be forced to withdraw from Bosnia if it were forced out of Croatia.

Meanwhile in an editorial, Sarajevo's OSLOBODJENJE newspaper Tuesday suggested the drums of war were beating more loudly. Belgrade has not renounced the idea of forming a "Greater Serbia" and Bosnian and Croatian secessionist Serbs are also preparing for war, it said, pointing to the establishment Monday of a "joint defence council" by the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs.

"On the political ground everything remains the same, more or less. Unfortunately, the war-drums have become louder," the paper said.

Delic Views Deterioriating Croat-Muslim Relations

LD2102160495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1553 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 21 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim army commander Rasim Delic has said that the "foundations of the Croat-Bosnian (Muslim) Federation are deteriorating on a daily basis."

In a statement carried Monday evening by the local radio station of the Muslim-held town of Travnik in central Bosnia, Delic said that "cooperation with the military authorities of the so-called Bosnian Croat state of Herceg-Bosna, was exeptionally bad."

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA Tuesday quoted Delic as saying an example of this were recent clashes in the area of Novi Travnik. He said that the Muslim-Croat fighting could be renewed on the majority of separation lines.

Delic gave the statement to Radio Travnik after touring units of the Muslim army's Seventh Corps, stationed in central Bosnia. The radio of the Croat-held town of Uskoplje (former Gornji Vakuf) said Delic's visit aimed to develop a plan for attacking Herzeg-Bosna.

SRNA quoted Radio Uskoplje as saying that Delic visited Muslim units stationed on strategically important lines of separation with the Bosnian Croats.

Muslims and Croats clashed fiercely in central Bosnia from the spring of 1993 until March 1994 when they signed, under pressure by the United States, an agreement on creating a joint Federation in Bosnia.

Muslims Again Violate Cease-Fire Accord

LD2102130195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1242 GMT 21 Feb 95

["Pool" item]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 21 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslims Tuesday attacked the positions and civilian targets of Bosnian Serbs in northern and southwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bosnian Serb republic news agency SRNA also quoted Serb army sources as saying that in this way the Muslims again violated the four month cessation of hostilities in this former Yugoslav republic in force since Jan 1.

The Muslim units, the sources said, used anti-aircraft machine guns to fire on Serb civilian targets in the southern and on army positions in the northeastern section of the war zone around the town of Teslic, northern Bosnia. The Muslims of Gorazde, an eastern Bosnian Muslim enclave, opened sniper and machine-gun fire on Serb positions on River Drina right bank from the area of Osanica, southeast of Gorazde.

The Bosnian Serb local command protested Monday to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] over continual Muslim attacks. It was quiet Tuesday morning on the Sarajevo area, as opposed to Monday when the Muslim units opened small arms fire on the Serb settlements in the Sarajevo northern outskirts—Ilijas.

On Monday night, the Muslims also attacked Serb positions in northern Herzegovina region. They opened infantry fire, as well as some ten mortar rounds, in the area between the towns of Konjic and Kalinovik.

Comment: Chances of Truce Lasting Beyond 1 May

AU1902201495 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 95 p 1

[Commentary by Emir Habul: "There Is War in the Air"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There have been some contradictory assessments of the military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina recently. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] sources hold the view that this signed cease-fire agreement is being observed better than any other in the past three years, and yet at the same time, there are reports on the massing of Serbian troops around the protected area of Bihac. Military analysts are warning about a danger of fighting flaring up; they are even offering some specific forecasts. During this entire period that is referred to as a "cessation of hostilities" and "truce," Bihac has been a real proof that Karadzic does not mean to stop until he accomplishes his war aims or until he is prevented from doing so with force. This raises the following question: What are the chances of the four-month cease-fire lasting beyond 1 May?

A statement by a Pale correspondent given to a foreign agency that Karadzic has banned all reports about Bihac is indicative. This represents either convincing confirmation of the recent reports on the successes of the 5th Corps—that it controls 30 km of border with Croatia and Debeljaca Hill (which puts stop the Serbian snipers shooting at the city center)—or a sign that something is being prepared in that region. It may well be the latter, since General Rasim Delic said on television the other evening that the Serbs have brought another elite brigade to that front. Independent sources have also confirmed the massing of Serbian forces.

When one adds to these facts the warmongering statements, the picture becomes clearer. Karadzic has threatened that he will "wipe out everyone if they move over the border." He did not say whether this was referring to Bihac or generally to all the territories that have been occupied with force.

The international community is exerting pressure on the government in Sarajevo to refrain from combat activities, and yet the situation on the ground shows the opposite. The military logic demands, while the offensive on Bihac continues, that the Bosnian Army hit some other locations on the 1,400-km long line of the front to relieve the 5th Corps that has not had a break since October. In his letter to Akashi, President Izetbegovic indicated this if the international community does not find a solution for Bihac.

In the sphere of politics the situation is even worse. The Serbs have rejected the peace plan, demand impudently Sarajevo and Tuzla, and Milosevic is not saying anything about the proposal to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Political messages from Pale are flavored with threats. If the international community does not offer an acceptable solution, the Serbs will launch an offensive.

There are no signs that the war is no longer present in the heads of the Pale leaders, nor do these people intend to stop it on the ground. Karadzic wants to put an end to Bihac and retain the occupied territories. He wants the world to recognize his state and Bosnia to agree to capitulation. There is too much of a combat scent in both words and deeds.

Provocations Noted in Srebrenica, Gorazde Areas

AU2102151895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Attacks by the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor on the protected and demilitarized zone of Srebrenica continue. The Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor fired five mortar shells on the village of Slatina. [passage omitted]

As our correspondents report, enemy activities were again noted in the 3d and the 4th Army Corps theaters of operations, and on the Gorazde front.

On the Zavidovici-Vozuca, the Serici-Teslic, and Tesanj-Doboj parts of the B-H fronts, the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressors fired on our lines of defense with small arms. Frequent movements by the enemy's vehicles, toward Vozuca, arrival of fresh forces, and helicopter flights from the direction of Doboj were also noticed on this part of the front.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

There was a similar situation on the Gorazde front, where chetniks attacks our defense lines and civilian targets with small arms and antiaircraft weapons. [passage omitted]

Serbs Report Muslim Operations in Sarajevo Area

LD2202010695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2339 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 21 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb sources reported Tuesday Muslim infantry and sniper operations in the area of Sarajevo during the day.

The Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA said that the Muslim infantry had been opening fire on Bosnian Serb army positions in the suburb of Ilijaz, and that Muslim snipers had been active in the city's Serb locality of Ilidza.

Quoting Bosnian Serb army sources, SRNA said that Muslim engineering activity had been observed in most sectors of the Sarajevo front. The U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has confirmed that Muslim troops are consolidating positions and digging new trenches at Hrasnica outside Sarajevo.

UNPROFOR has also confirmed that the situation is tense in the demilitarized zone on Mt Igman overlooking the city, SRNA said.

Bosnian Serb army sources said that Muslim Sarajevo Government troops had violated the current four-month truce in the Trebava and Teslic sectors of the Doboj front in the north. TANJUG learns from Bosnian Serb army sources in the western town of Drvar that Bosnian Croat forces and troops from neighboring Croatia shelled from artillery pieces Serb villages in the area wide around the town of Grahovo.

The shelling has forced Bosnian Serb civilians to flee deep into the territory of the Bosnian Serb Republic for safety, the source said. Muslim West Bosnia Radio Velkaton reported Tuesday that heavy intra-Muslim fighting was continuing on the approaches to Velika Kladusa, the seat of the government of the Muslim autonomous province of West Bosnia.

Special Muslim West Bosnia forces have managed to beat back assaults by a sabotage team of the Muslim Sarajevo government army, the radio said.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Tudjman Receives EU's Van den Broek

LD2102150795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a statement from the president's office on the talks between Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and European Union [EU] Commissioner Hans van den Broek.

The statement says the meeting was also attended by Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister; Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the president's office; Zeljko Matic, the president's foreign policy adviser; Gordan Radin, head of the president's cabinet [as heard]; Zoran Jasic, Croatian ambassador to Brussels; and (F. Kronenbourg) and (Peter Dum), Mr. Van den Broek's secretary and adviser.

The statement adds: The talks focused on possibilities for the greater cooperation between Croatia and the EU, the expiry of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate, possibilities for resolving the problem of the temporarily occupied Croatian territories, and Croatia's support for the implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

President Tudjman spoke about the overall situation resulting from the decision not to extend UNPROFOR's mandate beyond 31 March.

Commissioner Van den Broek said the agreement on economic cooperation with the EU will be reviewed, as well as Croatia's participation in the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program. This EU decision depends on how the situation in connection with UNPROFOR's departure develops. The president stressed that Croatia has proposed the deployment of EU observers to monitor the process of peaceful reintegration and supervise Croatia's internationally recognized border with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. The meeting also discussed Croatian-Serbian relations.

Granic, Van den Broek View UN-Croatian Talks

LD2102160395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] EU Commissioner for Foreign Affairs Hans van den Broek is paying a one-day visit to Zagreb. He was received today by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granic. Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic is to have talks with Van den Broek this afternoon.

Minister Granic and Van den Broek have made brief public statements; Tihomir Vinkovic has a report:

[Vinkovic] We had talks on Croatia's admission in European integrations, particularly in the PHARE program, and on a trade and cooperation treaty between Croatia and the EU, Minister Granic said. We also had talks about Croatia's decision to terminate the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate and the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly in Mostar. Croatia supports Washington Agreements, the Munich Agreement on the strengthening of the Federation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], and the Mostar project, Minister Granic said.

[Begin Granic recording] As for our decision to terminate the UNPROFOR mandate, we explained that it was primarily initiated by the existing situation that the Republic of Croatia cannot tolerate; but, on the other hand we are completely open to all peace initiatives and negotiations: negotiations with the local Serbs, with Belgrade and the international community. The Republic of Croatia will try—in cooperation with the international community—to find a solution for the protection of our borders and implementation of all the agreements reached so far. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] Van den Broek described the talks as important as they centered on relations between the EU and Croatia, efforts for a political solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the situation in the occupied regions of Croatia. He underlined that the EU wished to establish close ties with Croatia, especially with its admission to the PHARE program, and initiate talks on trade and cooperation.

[Begin Van de Broek recording in English with superimposed translation into Croatian] We have reiterated the concerns within the EU over the situation in the occupied regions of Croatia. We believe that it would be very important for Serbia to recognize Croatia in its internationally recognized borders. It would also be very important to hold the tripartite meeting between the leaderships of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia, organized by France as chair of the EU. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Van den Broek expressed his regret over the information he received that the meeting had been rejected by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. He said he hoped Croatia will continue supporting the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation as well as the EU projects for Mostar. Van den Broek concluded by saying that he and Prime Minister [Nikica] Valentic will be discussing economic relations between Croatia and the EU and that support will be lent to Croatia's efforts to achieve macroeconomic stability and develop a market economy.

Minister Granic thanked the EU representatives on the aid extended to refugees in the Republic of Croatia and recalled that Croatia is still accommodating more than 300,000 refugees and expelled persons.

Van den Broek Warns Zagreb of Renewed Conflict

AU2102181295 Paris AFP in English 1745 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Feb 21 (AFP)—The EU warned Croatia Tuesday [21 February] against resuming a war with rebel Serbs, saying it would risk spreading the conflict in former Yugoslavia and damage peace efforts.

Hans van den Broek, the EU external relations commissioner held talks here with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Foreign Minister Mate Granic.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Van den Broek said he had warned Zagreb of the dangers of renewed conflict after United Nations troops are pulled out of Croatia's Serb-held Krajina region by June 30 this year followng Croatia's decision not to renew their peacekeeping mandate. He said the EU would like the UN Protection Force to remain in Croatia, a quarter of which is controlled by rebel Serbs, and implied that Zagreb faced a choice: Allow the UN to stay or forget the prospect of closer economic ties with Europe.

"We feel that we are at a rather important junction regarding both bilateral relations between the EU and Croatia and also concerning the political situation in Bosnia and Krajina," he said.

"We call on Croatia that whatever decision regarding UNPROFOR is implemented, all measures are to be taken to prevent the outbreak of war which would easily spill over to Bosnia and affect the peace efforts."

Croatia complains that the UN force has failed to help Zagreb recover the Krajina region or repatriate hundreds of thousands of refugees forces from their homes when the Serbs seized it in 1991 after Croatia declared independence from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia.

Van den Broek also lamented the decision by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to reject the latest peace proposals put forward by the five nation "Contact Group"—Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States.

The Contact Group offered to lift crippling international sanctions on former Yugoslavia in return for Milosevic recognising the internationally accepted borders of Bosnia and Croatia.

The European commissioner repeated the EU's support for these proposals and a plan to hold a summit between Presidents Tudjman, Milosevic, and Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia.

Akashi, Martic Agree on Bihac Convoys

AU2102165195 Paris AFP in English 1616 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (AFP)—Yasushi Akashi, the UN special envoy in the former Yugoslavia, and secessionist Serb leaders in Croatia reached agreement Tuesday [21 February] on getting aid convoys into the Moslem enclave of Bihac in northwest Bosnia, the news agency ISKRA reported.

The Croatian Serb agency referred to the "satisfaction" expressed by Akashi following the agreement which, the agency said, concerns "the passage of humanitarian aid convoys for Bihac across the territory of the (self-styled) Serb republic of Krajina."

ISKRA did not go into the details of the accord which was concluded in Knin, the capital of breakaway Krajina, where Akashi had three hours of talks with the "president" of the republic, Milan Martic.

Earlier, UN officials on Tuesday accused secessionist Serb forces in Croatia of using food as a "weapon of war" in systematically blocking aid convoys for the Bihac pocket.

Akashi: 'Readiness To Start Poltical Talks'

AU2102153695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 95

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following three hours of talks with the Krajina authorities, UN secretary general's special envoy Yasushi Akashi told reporters in Knin that he had been assured that there was a readiness to start political talks and continue the interrupted economic negotiations between Krajina and Croatia. The condition is that the peace mission has to continue and that there is no change in the mandate of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. Akashi said that he was satisfied with the agreement reached on the delivery of humanitarian aid to Bihac.

Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, stressed that Krajina was committed to peace and that the only thing that they were asking from the United Nations was a guarantee for peace in the region, that is, that it behave in accordance with the Vance plan, which does not prejudice political solutions. As for political negotiations with Croatia, President Martic said that they will start as soon as guarantees had been received on the extension of the unchanged mandate of UNPROFOR.

Dr. Milan Babic, minister of foreign affairs in the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina, praised Akashi's attitude so far and said that Croatia's threats would lead to a possible war, as was the case four, that is, five years ago. We will extend full support to the international community, but we will not give in to Croatia's threats of force, Minister Babic said.

The talks in Knin were attended by Rajko Lezajic, chairman of the Krajina assembly, Major General Dusan Loncar, chief of general staff of the Serb army of Krajina, Lazar Macura, chairman of the committee for foreign affairs in the assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and Ilija Prijic, adviser to President Martic.

The UNPROFOR delegation was led by General Bertrand de Lapresle, and included (Michel Moussali), new UNPROFOR chief of civil affairs, with his aides.

Babic Supports Unity Moves With Bosnian Serbs

LD2202105095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 22 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—The Serb Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina "welcomes the creation of the joint Defense Council of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Srpska republic. It considers it as only the first step in the realization of the commitment to achieve a complete political and state unity," SDS Chairman Milan Babic said in Knin today.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

"The SDS of Krajina deputies will endorse the agreement on the joint Defense Council in the RSK assembly and make a full contribution to a speedy setting up of other joint, especially state, bodies of the two republics," Babic said.

RSK Minister Fears War of 'Balkan Proportions'

AU1802192095 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 18 Feb 95

[Interview with "RSK Defense Minister" Rade Tanjga by Dragoljub Stankic from the "Argumenti" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Stankic] The assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] has adopted a decision to declare a state of direct war danger. What exactly does this mean?

[Tanjga] Considering that Franjo Tudjman and the Republic of Croatia have threatened the RSK, we could not sit idly by and not carry out certain preparations, including appropriate psychological or moral preparations of our people.

In this sense, the RSK has decided to declare a state of direct war danger. This state is real, and we think it is helping the government and all state bodies, in accordance with the Constitution and laws, carry out certain defense preparations. Therefore, the aim of this declaration is primarily to intensify defense preparations, including the preparation of our population.

In short, that is it; I am not going to talk about the reasons. All your listeners know the reasons. Franjo Tudjman, according to a right that only he knows, has canceled UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] hospitality as of 31 March, when the current UNPROFOR mandate expires. Therefore, we must take these steps. We have not even thought about the possibility that he may be bluffing. We are taking the view that he is serious, so we are seriously preparing ourselves.

[Stankic] As defense minister, what is your view of the security situation in the RSK, and what is the situation like at the separation line?

[Tanjga] Up until now, we have [changes thought] after all, you know that our army—that is, our entire nation—has war experience. All our fighters, commands, and units have been through war, so they know their tasks and positions. Therefore, I think, from a point of view of experience, moral, and the decisiveness of the people, the army, and the authorities to defend themselves, we can sleep quietly. We must undertake and intensify material preparations to strengthen ourselves and stock up, as well as correctly distribute our resources so that we can meet the aggressor better.

This is a logical and normal stage that we are going through. I think that we are already prepared and that, defensively speaking, we will be even better prepared to deal with aggression that, I am afraid, is unfortunately inevitable.

[Stankic] Is the Croatian authorities' decision to cancel UNPROFOR's mandate endangering the agreements on economic issues that have already been reached?

[Tanjga] Before I directly answer this question, I must tell you the following. I have to tell you something interesting—namely, why the Croatian authorities have really done that.

You remember when we opened the highway—this was not that long ago, on 21 December—all of Croatia (?rushed) to the highway. I know there were at least—my cabinet chief was counting, as I was charged to travel on the highway—50 cameras that he counted, and, in our view, some 200 correspondents who came to the highway and loudly boasted as a choir that this was the first step toward RSK reintegration.

However, a few days later, they came to their senses. In other words, what I had been saying all along finally came to prominence—namely, that the economic agreements, and especially their realization, make the RSK stronger from within. We are moving step by step, but surely toward our own sovereignty.

For this reason, when they analyzed the situation and they all saw that, Franjo Tudjman and his advisers, as well as his outside sponsors, made a decision to break these agreements—that is, stop the negotiating process, making it conditional on a political solution, on talks on a political solution. They are exerting pressure on the international community to give him the green light for an armed action by stopping or disapproving of the current UNPROFOR mandate. Otherwise, he does not stand a chance of bringing the Serbs back to, as he said, the Republic of Croatia by peaceful means, because, as you know, we have never been Croatia. We have always been Yugoslavia.

Our assembly said the following: We will postpone all further negotiations and the implementation of the agreements reached so far until Franjo Tudjman abandons his declared intention or until the Security Council extends UNPROFOR's mandate in, of course, its current form.

Therefore, we have done the following: There are no problems with regard to everything that has been achieved with the agreements so far—that is, the opening of the highway and the oil pipeline; oil is flowing normally from Rijeka to Sisak, and the highway has been opened, their and our traffic is moving along it—but all further negotiations have been suspended for the time being.

[Stankic] This means that the RSK will not bring into question any of the agreements signed so far?

[Tanjga] Not at all. We are only gaining and becoming stronger. We are not even thinking about annulling anything that we have agreed on. We are doing everything we agreed to do. We only hold the view that we cannot afford the luxury of continuing the railroad negotiations when we face a direct war danger, when they are threatening to attack us. This is simply out of the question. One could not be able to negotiate in a normal atmosphere. Negotiations are always [changes thought] of course, pressures are always exerted.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

However, the pressure of war cannot be an alternative to negotiations for us. We are of the view that negotiations should be held in a calm atmosphere, as has been the case in the past.

[Stankic] If Croatia decides to attack the RSK, will the war spread to other regions?

[Tanjga] This war is not so different from the wars that we learned about as soldiers, or from the wars known throughout history, in the classical sense of the way that wars are conducted, considering that this is a civil war, considering that a state is disintegrating, considering that there are divisions among the peoples that used to be integrated, linked much more closely in the past. I am talking about peoples, not states, because we had one state. Considering that ethnic borders often affect mixed marriages, this war has, of course, caused much horror, destruction, human tragedy, and so forth.

Therefore, if the war is to continue, it is difficult to believe that it would be contained only and exclusively within the RSK and the Republic of Croatia for objective reasons and not because of some arrogance of the Serbian people.

I think that, according to the nature of things, the Serbian Republic would absolutely be dragged in, not because we want it, even though we have an agreement on joint defense, but simply because the Croats together with the Muslims will attack the Srpska republic in order to tie some of their forces so that they cannot help us. This is what will happen on one side. The other thing is that I personally think it would be difficult to believe that we will be able to avoid drawing Yugoslavia into the conflict, since perhaps someone has planned to activate Kosovo at that time so that, I am afraid, if Yugoslavia enters the conflict, this will not be only a conflict inside the former Yugoslavia, but it will assume Balkan proportions.

In this sense, I personally would like to see everything possible done, everything that is in our power, to prevent a war. However, I must tell you that the Serbian people in the RSK have their minimum below which they certainly cannot go.

Opposition Head Sympathizes With Status of Serbs

LD1802152295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 18 Feb (TANJUG)—Dobrosav Paraga, deputy in the Croatian parliament and leader of a Croatian opposition party, the Croatian Party of Rights, has said the departure of UN peacekeeping forces from Croatia would be an introduction to a large-scale war against the Serbs.

In an interview for Rijeka-based NOVI LIST, Paraga said Croatian President Franjo Tudjman "is artificially rallying the nation over the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] issue" and that he made his decision to terminate the mandate of UN peacekeeping forces on the basis of a bad assessment of the situation.

"Despite Tudjman's concessions and promises, the problem lies in the fact that the present situation in Croatia does not give the Serbs any legal security or political framework within which they could be certain that their rights would be protected, just as the rights of the Croats should be," said Paraga.

"Should we Croats be satisfied with such a Croatia, which is neither a democratic nor a law-governed state?" said Paraga, asking "could it be attractive to someone who is ethnically not a Croat," and "how would such a person be safe here?"

If Istria is under attack just because the Croatian Democratic Union is not in power there, how can we be in position to guarantee anything to Serbs, stressed Paraga, adding that he was trying to see things from the Serbian point of view.

Valentic Holds Talks With Iranian Delegation

LD2102210895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] It was stressed during talks between Prime Minister Nikica Valentic and an Iranian Majles delegation, headed by 'Ali Movahhedi-Savoji, that relations between Croatia and Iran are good, both in the economic and political spheres. Prime Minister Valentic informed his Iranian guests about Croatia's decision to terminate the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] mandate and added that today's meeting was conducted while Serbia holds 70 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina's territory and 30 percent of Croatia's. Under such circumstances, our decision is final, Valentic said and noted that we wants to solve the crisis by peaceful means. We accept the proposals and ideas to recognize all parts of the former Yugoslavia, but as long as Serbia refuses to recognize Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the source of all conflicts remains unchanged.

Prime Minister Valentic and his guest Movahhedi-Savoji have similar views and believe that the consequences of the tragic clashes between Croats and Muslim in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be removed as soon as possible.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Political Parties Call For 'Peace, Stability'

AU2202112295 Skopje MIC in English 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The managing organs of the Macedonian political parties from Tetovo held a working meeting late last night, at the end of which they issued an announcement made up of ten items. The announcement appeals to all citizens from the municipality, regardless of national or religious affiliation, to make all efforts to keep the peace and stability, in order to overcoming the deteriorated inter-ethnic relations. It was asked to establish direct contact and dialogue with the leaders of the political parties of the Albanians in Macedonia. They expressed support for the measures of the Macedonian Government and the Interior Ministry for protection of the Constitution and laws, and demanded a ban and sanctioning of all activities connected with the initiative for opening the so-called "Albanian university in Tetovo." Due to a number of incidents, confusion and provocations directed against certain citizens, and particularly participants, the Tetovo police station is urged to provide greater control and protection for all, and particularly these citizens.

The announcement stresses that every "ghettoization" of the citizens in this municipality, in particular the political subjects means further polarization and danger of more serious conflicts with possible tragic consequences. The Macedonian political parties from Tetovo also want a ban on any misuse of the local Assembly and the units of the local self-government with the favoring and exposition of any nationality, including the material and other means which they possess.

Leader of 'Shqiptar' Party Reportedly Arrested

LD2102214795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2057 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Branko Crvenkovski, the prime minister of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, today said that the government in Skopje would be resolute in punishing all illegal activities of the so-called national messiah involved in the promotion of the ethnic parauniversity in Tetovo.

Crvenkovski said he regretted the incident on Friday when one Shqiptar demonstrator was killed and 20 people were wounded in the unrests about the illegal ethnic university.

Police forces have withdrawn from the streets of Tetovo and the surrounding villages of Mala Recica and Poroj, where the premises of the controversial Shqiptar university are. Thereby another Shqiptar demand put to representatives of the highest state leadership was met in order to diffuse the tension after the armed clash on Friday.

Criminal charges were brought against five arrested members of the university's administration, including Dean Fadil Sulejmani, and seven demonstrators were each sentenced to 30 days in jail. TANJUG has unofficially learned that Nevzad Halili, the leader of the newly formed Shqiptar party, was arrested in Tetovo today too. Halili was directly involved in the illegal activities in connection with the opening of the ethnic university, as well as with organizing so-called classes at faculty for law and economics in Poroj near Tetovo.

It has been announced in Skopje that tomorrow's parliament session has been cancelled at the request of groups of deputies. It is believed that this is linked with the Shqiptar party's announcement that, after the latest events and the requests for all open issues to be solved first, their deputies will not take part in the parliament's work.

PDP Warns of Clashes Between Police, Albanians

AU2002164395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After the talks between representatives of the most powerful party of Albanians in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the top Macedonian state leadership, which lasted several hours, it was agreed for all police units to be immediately withdrawn from Tetovo and its vicinity. Aleksandar Nikolic Pisarev has the story:

During the night, the majority of the special forces of the Macedonian Ministry of Internal Affairs, who were guarding the access to the buildings of the faculty in Tetovo, were called back to Skopje.

All the Albanian political parties in Macedonia and the Albanian women's organization have reached a consensus on the Albanian university in Tetovo and are giving full support to the university rector, Dr. Fadil Sulejmani, in an effort to have the faculties continue work. It will be left to the rectorate and the university senate to decide on how lectures will be organized.

A committee for releasing the arrested Tetovo university rector, Dr. Fadil Sulejmani, and about 10 other members of the rectorate and the university senate was formed in Tetovo today.

During the day, a large group of ethnic Albanians gathered in front of the Tetovo Misdemeanor Court, where the urgent trial of a group of demonstrators is to take place.

The position of all the Albanian political parties in Macedonia is that the arrested and (?detained) Albanians have been charged unjustly and that they have not committed any crime. Village watches are still deployed at roads leading to the village of Poroj. It is expected that until a final agreement with the Macedonian authorities is reached, the activity of the entire university will be illegal.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Max van der Stoel, high commissioner for human rights of the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, is expected in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia today and will be talking first with Macedonian President Gligorov and then with representatives of the Albanian university in Tetovo and Albanian party leaders.

Muhamed Halili of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP], minister in the government of Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, said today that the Tetovo events are a brutal police act against the legitimate right of a people to communicate in their own language and that the Albanian political parties will most probably decide temporarily to freeze their participation in parliament and the government until the work of the Tetovo university is officially approved.

After talks with top Macedonian political leaders, PDP President Abdulrahman Aliti said that good will on both sides is needed to prevent a further escalation and to find a way out of the crisis. According to him, any further tension in Tetovo and its vicinity could only end in direct clashes between the Albanians and the police.

Albanian Political Parties Hold Joint Meeting

AU2002140995 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Feb 95 pp 1, 4

[Article by Irina Stojkoska: "Waiting for a Political Settlement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tetovo, 19 February. Unlike the last few days, which culminated in the incident in Mala Recica with one dead and a number of injured, yesterday and last night in the Tetovo Commune passed in a peaceful, though still tense, atmosphere. While the number of citizens and vehicles was lower, most probably because it was Sunday, there was lively activity among the Albanian political parties, which held a joint meeting at which decisions were made. However, in spite of the presence of a PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] representative at the joint session, the PDP continued its permanent session after the joint meeting.

In and around Tetovo, as well as in the two "critical places," Mala Recica and the village of Poroj, it is quiet but still tense today. In Mala Recica the police have taken up their "positions" again this morning around the building of the so-called faculty of science and mathematics. Unlike yesterday, when we could see the signs of the four S's [Serbian nationalist symbol] and a cross over the door, while there was written RM [Republic of Macedonia] on the lefthand side, the building was repainted overnight and so these symbols are no longer visible. We can also see the bus that was destroyed during the events of 17 February, now burnt out. We have been informed that the residents of Mala Recica are supposed to have been advised not to take any action on their own without the knowledge and agreement of the Albanian political parties, particularly the NDP [People's Democratic Party], whose member of parliament Zekir Kadriu represents this constituency.

The police also withdrew from the village of Poroj and it was quiet there, too, but it is curious that here a peasants' "guard" has been deployed and access to the village is being controlled by guards on duty. However, we could not get an answer to whether classes [at the university] will continue tomorrow in spite of the events. We have been able to find out unofficially that from now on the "university's activities" will be held in secret, without the great glare of publicity and without revealing the location, because, in the opinion of one of our informants who was directly engaged in the university activities, although this was also the general view of the attitude of Fadil Sulejmani [university rector], unlike the appeals of some Albanian political parties for a relaxation of tensions and against mass street gatherings, he not only did not stick to this, but also called for mass gatherings. He has also been criticized for too many contacts with journalists!

Apart from the activities of the Albanian political parties, there was much activity at the Tetovo District Court against some citizens. We have found out unofficially that 17 individuals have been charged. Who has been charged will be announced Monday [20 February], according to the president of the Communal District Court.

Journalists' attention has been attracted today by the success that has been achieved among the Albanian political parties in obtaining unity for the first time by sitting together around the same table at NDP headquarters. The meeting was held behind closed doors, but we could notice the presence of representatives of all the Albanian political parties without exception: Naser Ziberu and Iljir Ljuma (PDP), Ilijaz Halili (NDP), Nevzet Halili (PDP-National Unity), Rufi Osmani (a member of the Republican Assembly, representing Xhaferi and Thaci, the PDP's radical wing), and Hisen Ramadani, an independent member of parliament. Xhemailj Idrizi was also present, the president of the Albanian Democratic Alliance-Liberal Party, and Kenan Mazlami from the Party for Democratic Action-Islamic Road, a representative of the Albanian Women's Alliance, as well as representatives of the "university" such as Maser Kodra, the dean of the "faculty of philosophy," and Sefedin Haruni, the "prorector." Many were surprised by this "landing," that is the PDP's readiness to talk at "another level." PDP President Abdurahman Aliti's statement was very indicative when he said that there would be a temporary postponement of the "university" activities, which are becoming dangerous. After the joint session of all the Albanian political parties, the PDP continued with its permanent session, but we have

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

been were told that there have been no changes and they are supporting the joint position of the Albanian political parties.

[Box, p 4]

Support for Tetovo "University"

Today a joint session has been held at NDP headquarters of representatives of the Albanian political parties, the Alliance of Women-Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], and representatives of the "university," where concrete decisions have been made on the views of the Albanian political body in the Republic of Macedonia. It was said that the Albanian political body in Macedonia supports the continuation of the "university" in Tetovo, while the "university" bodies would decide on the forms of the curriculum in accordance with conditions, whereupon the students would be informed. The Albanian political body decided that the detention of Fadil Sulejmani, Milaim Fejziu, Arben Rusi, Biljal Ljutvio, Afet Scrifi, Kemal Sabani, and others was without any grounds and a committee was formed to work for their liberation, composed of the presidents of the Albanian political parties and their representatives and the Alliance of Albanian Women, and this will be in contact with the authorities. This Albanian political body, it was emphasized, will continue to monitor the situation and will make decisions as events unfold.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Ambassadors Protest FRY Claim to Succession

AU2202110195 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 22 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The ambassadors of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed letters to the General Assembly and the UN Security Council in which they warned that Belgrade is not honoring the prevailing resolutions of the international organizations, according to which the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] no longer exists.

Prior to this, a Yugoslav representative to the United Nations had sent letters to the above-mentioned bodies in which he claimed that the self-proclaimed FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] is the successor of the former SFRY and the owner of the former common state property on the territories of the states that have emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The ambassadors of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina warn that the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia is merely one of five equal successor states of the former SFRY.

Thaler Sums Up Relations With Neighbors

AU2102204895 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prior to tomorrow's visit to Vienna and later to Brussels, Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler at a news conference explained the purpose of his visits. As regards Austria, he said among other things that Slovenia would like to maintain excellent relations with this country and that problems occasionally only arise in connection with the Slovene minority [in Carinthia].

Zoran Thaler also spoke about relations with Italy and Croatia and emphasized that regulated relations will remain our priority even in the future. It will not be possible to resolve matters overnight; however, it is important that we are creative and that we do not miss opportunities. Nadja Pengov was at the news conference:

[Begin recording] [Pengov] A new round of talks with Italy has begun. It is important that we are now discussing the relations as a whole and that we are not omitting issues. Whether the talks about mutual relations and our country's integration in the EU will truly be two-tier primarily depends on Italy and its political interests. On 6 March, Slovenia will again be on the agenda in Brussels.

[Thaler] I mention 6 March because this is nevertheless an important date. I see it as a date that should not denote another missed opportunity.

[Pengov] Despite this, Foreign Minister Thaler found it prudent to caution the Slovene public to lower its expectations. There are encouraging signals; however, good intentions themselves are not sufficient in politics. It is the political interest that is important. So, what would be Slovenia's goodwill gesture toward Italy? Zoran Thaler says that something will have to be done. There are various possibilities; however, by 6 March we will need to establish and verify our interest in the parliament.

The foreign minister did not wish to comment extensively on the latest statements by senior Croatian politicians, referring to the border in the Piran Bay:

[Thaler] I believe that the positions of both sides on this issue have very much crystallized and have been known for quite some time. I personally see a statement by [Croatian] Ambassador [Zagar] as a positive one although contrary commentaries have appeared in Slovenia, too. That is, I see it as an expression of will on Croatia's behalf to understand and also acknowledge Slovene problems connected to this region.

[Pengov] Slovenia's interest is to remain unrestrained on the sea and have normal access to the open sea. He believes it would be wise to remove certain issues, such as the debts of the Ljubljana Bank, from the agenda. He is pleased that contacts with Croatia are running as scheduled. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Thaler Assesses Talks With Italy on Border

BR2102151795 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 19 Feb 95 p 14

[Interview with Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler by Fabio Luppino in Pesaro; date not given: "We Should Let the Demons of the Past Lie"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pesaro—*"We speak to each other every day. We can say that we have set off along the right road." The diplomatic thaw between Italy and Slovenia continues, according to new Foreign Under Secretary Emanuele Scammacca del Murgo e Dell'Agnone. The city of Pesaro has engineered this chance to keep intact the thread that was reknotted 10 days ago, when the Ljubljana foreign minister asked to meet [Italian Foreign Minister] Susanna Agnelli at the festival of Slovene culture.*

The city in the Marches is twinned with the Slovene capital, and it has never approved of the previous government's hostility. The quasi-summit that took place on the sidelines of the conference on relations between the two countries held in Pesaro yesterday shows that the bilateral negotiations have set out on the path of reasonableness. Emanuele Scammacca and Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler, one of the leaders of the Liberal Democratic Party in Slovenia and his country's newly appointed head of diplomacy, had an exchange of views lasting about half an hour. The venom has been left behind. "I cannot say that we favor this or that policy. A comprehensive negotiation neglecting nothing is under way," said the Italian under secretary. Only too often domestic policy

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

considerations in both countries have turned this negotiation concerning, on the one hand, Slovenia's application for an association agreement with the EU and, on the other, the dispute between Italy and Slovenia on the exiles' economic issues into an incomprehensible crusade. It would now appear that Italy is about to go to the EU foreign ministers' summit to be held on 6 March with a position that goes beyond what, in the past, was to all intents and purposes a veto on Slovenia's association. It remains to be seen what significance is attached to Thaler's own labeling of the legitimate claims of the Italian exiles as a "humanitarian issue."

[Luppino] You came to Rome on 8 February on your first official visit since your appointment as foreign minister. Has your trip been merely a courtesy visit to Susanna Agnelli, or have you been seeking new signs at the Farnesina [Foreign Ministry] regarding the dispute between Italy and Slovenia?

[Thaler] I had many goals to achieve. The outcome of this meeting is not final, of course, but there are positive developments. It is in our interest to promote a different logic from what happened in 1994.

[Luppino] How do you intend to conduct the negotiations with Italy?

[Thaler] We shall seek to develop relations in the best way. But I want to specify at once that there are vital national interests that cannot be bartered away. Slovenia has high hopes of its relations with Italy, but your country seems to be concerned with marginal matters.

[Luppino] What are the national interests that cannot be brought into play in the negotiations with Italy?

[Thaler] Our borders and the agreements on which our sovereignty and independence are based. If there are agreements on fundamental topics with Italy, as with Austria and Hungary, I fail to see why they have to be renegotiated.

[Luppino] The issue that has brought the negotiations between Italy and Slovenia to a stalemate is the exiles' property. It looks as though you want to reduce everything to a simple matter of humanitarian rights. What does describing it as a "humanitarian issue" mean?

[Thaler] The problems of the past have been settled with agreements based on international law. I would like to quote what President Havel of the Czech Republic said when he met the German Government: "The spirits of the past must not be raised." Because if we go and stir up the spirits of the past, we might also bring back the demons of the past. Slovenia does not accept the logic whereby history began after 1945. Our country's history went through difficult periods in 1918, 1922, and 1941. So property matters are issues that have already been formally settled from the legal point of view. However, as a human being, I want a number of humanitarian questions that we have inherited from the past to be settled by mutual consent.

[Luppino] Italy has called for our exiles to be given the chance to buy the real estate that they left behind when they were expelled by Tito. What stance do you intend to adopt on this specific issue?

[Thaler] If Slovenia joined the EU tomorrow, none of these problems would exist any longer, so we expect Italy to help bring this about. The Slovene parliament firmly intends to bring our regulations into line during the process of integration into the EU. And the EU legislation will apply to all 15 nationalities. [Luppino] Do you think that a deal can be reached before 6 March, when the EU foreign ministers' summit is to be held?

[Thaler] There will be nothing in writing by then, that is obvious, but 6 March is an important date for creating a more favorable climate.

[Luppino] Slovenia is a country of the former Yugoslavia. The situation of the states born by "secession" is somewhat sensitive. The war is not over, and hardly any of the problems have been settled. In view of the fact that you border on Croatia, does Slovenia not feel that it has a duty to promote chances for mediation?

[Thaler] We shall take no initiative; not even the major countries are capable of finding solutions, and, what is more, we have no desire to have anything to do with the fate of the former Yugoslavia. It is undoubtedly in our interest for a lasting peace to put an end to the war. We are taking steps wherever we can exert our influence.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Federal

Economic Issues Discussed at Meeting

LD2102212195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2016 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Premier Radoje Kontic held a regular meeting today with representatives of the governments of the two republics and the Yugoslav National Bank, which was attended by Milo Djukanovic, prime minister of Montenegro; Dragan Tomic, minister coordinator in the government of Serbia; and Bozidar Gazivoda, deputy governor of the Central Bank, the Federal Secretariat for Information announced this evening.

Taking part in the debate on the realization of economic policy in 1995 were deputy Federal prime ministers Jovan Zebic, Nikola Sainovic, and Uros Klikovac; Professor Milutin Cirovic, chairman of the Federal Government's Economic Council; Zarko Trbojevic, vice governor of the Yugoslav National Bank; Danilo Perovic, vice chairman of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber; and a number of Federal and Republic ministers.

It was stated that the intervention measures in the first quarter of this year are providing the expected results. The dinar exchange rate has been stabilized and the wave of inflation in January has been stemmed. In February the prices of most products are easing. At the same time, a reduction in personal consumption has taken place. In January earnings are about 6 percent down on their December level. Budget expenditure has slowed.

It was assessed that the intervention measures have also had some expected, accompanying, negative effects.

It was concluded that all subjects involved in the adoption and realization of the economic policy intervention measures reexamine these effects and proposed changes over the coming 10 days. The view is that the restrictive intervention measures should be replaced as soon as possible by long-term systemic measures. The Yugoslav National Bank will at the same time, and as a matter of urgency, propose additional measures to bolster the foreign exchange reserves and essential imports of raw and semiprocessed materials.

The Federal and Republic governments will together examine the scope for further reducing public expenditure. More effective measures will be taken to curb the gray economy and examine taxation and other levies on the existing level of production, the statement says at the end.

Serbia

B-H Army Members Held at Uzice Fire Station

AU2102204695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 95 p 16

[Article by K.M.: "Investigation by Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs Under Cover"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Uzice—NASA BORBA has found out from unofficial sources that a group of 22 middle-aged men of Muslim ethnic origin are being temporarily held at the Uzice fire brigade station. Among them are a number of low-ranking officers and other ranks of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Strong Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs forces are keeping them under guard and the only information that they will divulge is that the entire case is still under investigation.

During their arrest, a significant amount of hard currency was found on them, the purpose of which gives rise to many questions, among others: Is this only a case of defection or is there something much bigger behind it?

Metalworkers Protest Against Government's Policy

AU2202082195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by G. Dukic: "Fed Up With Idleness, Starvation, and Salaries That They Are Not Earning"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Yesterday around 500 members of Nezavisnost [Independence] trade union of metalworkers organized a protest march, sending the following message to the state: "Enough!"

The metalworkers again warned that they are fed up with idleness, starvation, and salaries that they are not earning, and which are still too small to enable them to survive anyway.

The participants in the protest march yesterday first gathered in front of the UGS [expansion unknown] Nezavisnost building, and then they remained in front of the trade union building on Nikola Pasic Square. Then the metalworkers set off toward the Assembly of Serbia to inform the chairmen of the assembly deputies' clubs of the reasons for their dissatisfaction. In front of the Assembly building the metalworkers were greeted and received by Tomislav Nikolic, chairman of the club of the Serbian Radical Party; Tihomir Milosevic, member of the Main Board of the Democratic Party of Serbia; and Ljiljana Lucic, member of the Main Board of the Democratic Party and deputy in the Serbian Assembly.

"We have come to demand from you, deputies, to initiate a debate in the assembly regarding our demands," said Miloje Ignjatovic, chairman of the Nezavisnost trade union. "We want to say for the last time that we have had enough of poverty, misery, deceits, and harassment of our trade union members. We are addressing the Government of Serbia in the first place and telling it that we have had enough. We also demand the resignations of Industry Minister Oskar Fodor and Labor Minister Jovan Radic. If these ministers do not go, we shall all become welfare cases," Ignjatovic said.

After that the peaceful column of workers, together with the fair, though constant escort by uniformed as well as

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

plainclothes police, set off toward the building of the Serbian Government. At the corner of Knez Milos Street and Masaryk Street the procession halted for a short time, shouting: "Studio B!," thus expressing its support for the independent TV station.

In front of the building of the Serbian Government the metalworkers were greeted by—the security guards. They allowed Ignjatovic to enter the building as far as the reception area and hand over the letter addressed to republican Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic.

"We are silently protesting here and now, but if we get no answer to our demands by 1 March, our silence will cease," Ignjatovic warned.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Views Latest Peace Initiatives

AU1702184995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 17 Feb 95

["Extensive excerpts" from interview with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic by Television Politika reporter Olivera Kovacevic; place and date of interview not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Kovacevic] You are a member of the Supreme Defense Council. Recently, the sessions of the Supreme Council have gained in frequency. What have you discussed at these sessions lately, how is the security situation viewed? In the case of an attack on the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], will Yugoslavia assist Krajina militarily?

[Bulatovic] You know, sessions of the Supreme Defense Council are [words indistinct] secrets and I will honor this absolutely. Currently, we are concentrating the majority of our efforts on an extremely complex and very difficult process of the transformation of the Yugoslav Army and its adjustment to the current circumstances, especially in a situation when the Army has demonstrated more than great readiness to stick to the hard budget limitations that are a constituent element of our economic program. In any case, I believe that, primarily thanks to the people in the Yugoslav Army General Staff, we have managed to extract the utmost from the existing situation. [Words indistinct] people have behind them several years of military service and traumas, they have remained without their homes. The families of numerous Yugoslav Army members continue to be accommodated in lodgings that are below any minimum of dignity, however, at the same time the Army is making a big contribution to the rationalization of public spending and has maintained a high degree of combat readiness.

[Kovacevic] Does this mean that we are safe? [Words indistinct] the security situation?

[Bulatovic] You know, we are safe to an extent to which we must harmonize the military potential and resources with the current situation. Evidently, the world has changed so much that nobody is safe any longer. It depends what NATO intends to do, on both sides. It is perfectly obvious that we cannot have a military potential that could counter the NATO Alliance. You remember that the concept of our defense has long been to have armed forces developed to an extent that will safeguard our stability and equality in relation to our neighbors. Luckily, there is no such danger at the moment. [passage omitted]

[Kovacevic] Now, about the lifting of the sanctions. The latest word that has arrived from the world is that the recognition of Croatia is the basic precondition for the lifting of the sanctions. Does this appear to you to be a closed circle from which there either is or isn't a way out?

[Bulatovic] There is a way out if the indisputable arguments, which I have more or less skillfully tried to portray to the viewers, are truly accepted. It seems to me that a feeling that we should get involved in the sanctions game more courageously is growing somewhat. What is reaching us now via the media, is, it seems to me, a media overture for a political gathering that might be held, however, only if the conditions, which we can put forward, too, are fulfilled in advance.

[Kovacevic] What is particularly interesting at the moment is the issue of Prevlaka. A visit of [Croatian Foreign Minister] Mate Granic to Belgrade has been announced recently and there is a rumor that there could be talk about the recognition of Croatia. What will happen with Prevlaka in such a case? Do you, at this moment, perhaps believe that your decision to settle the issue of Prevlaka exclusively between Montenegro and Croatia, without the involvement of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and perhaps even the international conference in this process, was a mistake?

[Bulatovic] [passage omitted] Unfortunately, regarding this issue, a landslide of what appeared to me rather irresponsible statements has ensued recently. What we can do is to state that our interests, our defense and state interests, are clear and unchangeable. We believe that the way to satisfy our interests lies exclusively in diplomatic talks. In this sense, I expect that I will soon have an opportunity to talk with Mr. Akashi [UN secretary general's special envoy]. For the time being, in this whirl of events, we propose that it would be best if the UN observers were to remain on Prevlaka. As you know, we did not hand Prevlaka over to Croatia, but to the United Nations. We truly could not agree, without any accompanying reactions, that this territory would remain unprotected after the departure of UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] observers. I believe it was not beneficial that all sorts of irresponsible statements were made in the Croatian public, however, personally, I also do not like it that some people in the Montenegrin public are trying to score minor, internal points with what I would

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

call unreasonable and warmongering statements. I hope that Mr. Granic will finally arrive in Belgrade.

[Kovacevic] This visit has been announced a lot.

[Bulatovic] Yes, there has been a lot of talk about it, however, I believe that this issue is not the main issue. Probably the issue of Prevlaka will, I can freely say so, provide a solution for some other issues. [passage omitted]

[Kovacevic] The trial of war criminals in The Hague, which has been announced for a long time, is starting now. What is your stance on this?

[Bulatovic] There are numerous worrying indications that these trials will be politically slanted. I am afraid that there were numerous war criminals on all sides in the civil war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It would be bad if only one of them who had truly committed crimes would go unpunished, however, it would be compromising for the entire international community to try only some of them because they belong to a specific ethnic group, because they are Serbs.

[Kovacevic] What is your view and opinion, and how realistic are the prospects that the dispute between Knin and Zagreb will be resolved?

[Bulatovic] This is actually the question that triggered the beginning of the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Recalling all this, there truly was not a single reason for the Yugoslav Army to be more vigorously engaged in Slovenia. You know that almost 400,000 people who are not Slovenes remained there, mostly Serbs, according to the data of that time, which I remember very well. However, these people did not have the same fear, confusion, and revolt because of possible revanchism. Luckily, in the course of World War II there were no such sentiments in Slovenia. However, when what happened in Croatia took place—unfortunately, we all know it all to well—the passions flared and blazed on both sides. I champion a belief that the problem of the relations between Knin and Zagreb should be resolved with a gradual system, with a three step system, which is: First an agreement on a cessation of hostilities, for which UNPROFOR is the necessary guarantor; second, the realization of the economic agreement that would increase mutual trust; and finally, talks on open political issues.

The Croatian motives are clear to me. I believe that we should be realistic and level-headed and understand that Croatia cannot easily renounce a third of its territory, what the geographers call their soft belly, that is, practically all of their main communications. Is is equally evident that there is no possibility, need, or purpose to resolve the Zagreb-Knin problem in a military way, with a war. These people enjoy their statehood, and I believe that the hitherto solutions, especially solutions launched by Mr. Churkin in the past, were some sort of basis for the talks. I hope that the pressure of the international community will bear fruit, and that the Croatian president will, despite the enormous pressures that he is encountering among his public, nevertheless find a way to extend UNPROFOR's mandate, as anything else would be total nonsense. To again start a war after many years of war would be what I once called a shot in the dark. War cannot resolve this problem.

In my opinion, the question of recognition really became prominent at the moment when the entire peace process, primarily in Bosnia-Herzegovina, found itself in what appeared to be a hopeless deadlock. However, I profoundly believe that the issue of recognition is a mistake of a false question [as heard]. What it implies is that the problem between Knin and Zagreb would be resolved in the moment when Belgrade would recognize Zagreb. In other words, this would confirm the theory that Belgrade attacked Zagreb and not that the Serbs in Croatia, in the RSK, organized themselves and, in a statelike manner, stood up against something that they perceived as a terror and a possibility of a genocide. Therefore, those who propose this evidently harbor some secret political aims that are again based on a confusion that the problem of Croatia can be resolved without Knin. These problems absolutely cannot be resolved that way. Our stance has always been and remains that the problem can be solved, so we can render good services as those least exposed to the war horrors and those who can perhaps comprehend the existing peace conditions with which we are faced more realistically. However, the issue of recognition does not resolve anything.

Finally, I must remind of the declaration passed by the FRY Assembly during the adoption of our constitution, in which we clearly and loudly stated that we do not have territorial claims against anyone, but that we should strive that all peoples of the former Yugoslavia enjoy freedom, peace, and dignity.

Kosovo

Government: 'Full Support' for Tetovo University

AU2202105995 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 577, 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Government of the Republic of Kosova expressed its full support for the newly-established University of Tetova in two separate statements issued on 19 and 21 February 1995, calling on the international community to "reconsider seriously its attitude towards FYROM [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] and stop making concessions to Slavo-Macedonians in disfavor of the Albanian population."

"Events around the University of Tetova and their politicization by Slavo-Macedonians of an elementary demand of the Albanians shows that it is Slavo-Macedonians who do not accept equal partners in a state

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

that is trying to establish itself", says Kosova Government, adding that "nobody can require from them (FYROM Albanians) to accept the position of a secondary citizen".

The Government of Kosova warns FYROM authorities that a "university cemented with the blood of the young can never be closed down".

The government is further concerned at the fake charges filed against the rector of the University of Tetova and his colleagues, for their "crime" is the demand for education within the legal framework of the newly-founded state. "Full responsibility will fall upon President Gligorov's government if the situation is not addressed in a genuinely just manner and in due time", says Kosova Government in the statements signed by Prime Minister Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, and adds: "The new Macedonian state must understand that it can never be viable without the full cooperation of the Albanian people. The first step towards ensuring this cooperation would be to recognize Albanians as one of the constituent nations and state-forming entities of this small and [word indistinct] republic".

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

— Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.

— Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.

— Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.